

Highlights



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FOCUS

The evil game of croquet

By David Anable

New York
Clunk ... pause ... bend knees, lean over mallet, concentrate, swing ... clunk ...

"Nice shot ... beauty."

It's 2 p.m. in Central Park. Under a sweltering sun the first United States National Croquet Tournament in modern times is unobtrusively under way.

Protected by a low, chain-link fence from kids, dogs, and bickering sun-worshippers, some of America's top croquet players thump colored wooden balls across the billiard-smooth grass of the New York Croquet Club.

"Nice croquet. Red's dead on blue and yellow" — the language is incomprehensible except to the connoisseurs.

But, clunk by clunk, the number of U.S. connoisseurs is growing. Discreetly, modestly, almost genteelly, a croquet revival is under way on America's more impeccable lawns and parks.

Last fall, some 20 years after persistence by U.S. croquet fans bore fruit in the formation of the U.S. Croquet Association (USCA). This was paralleled by the appearance here of a comprehensive book on croquet published by Charles Scribner's Sons and for the first time, standardized American as well as British rules.

"The game is owned by the British," admits USCA founder and president Jack Osborn. "We're 20 years behind ... but we're going to get 'em."

Despite the game's deceptive air of genteel decorum, "getting" one's opponent is very much a part of croquet's tense and aggressive tactics.

"The ingenuity of man has never conceived anything better calculated to bring out all the evil passions of humanity than the so-called game of croquet," was one opinion ventured 80 years ago in *Living*

Age. "As each player goes through the first hoop he undergoes a metamorphosis ... the male antagonist becomes a creature too vile for language, the decency of womanhood has disappeared by the third hoop."

It is this highly competitive form of the sport, subject to strict rules and subtle strategies, which is making its U.S. comeback.

Where 10 years ago Mr. Osborn was aware of only one croquet club of any consequence (Long Island's Putke West-hampton Mallet Club), today he knows of at least 10 spread across the country. Representatives from eight of these clubs now form the board of the new USCA. National tournament winner Archie Peck is from Florida's Palm Beach Croquet Club.

Meanwhile, the New York Croquet Club has seen its membership rise from some 30 to 80 over the past two or three years.

And if the creamier levels of the American croquet world appear to be a preserve of the comfortably rich, if not the idle, then

it must be remembered that a set of "correct" equipment (from Jon Jaques of London, of course) may cost from \$250 to \$600. And as for the upkeep of that immaculate grass, well ...

The rough-and-ready swathing of backyard crabgrass with mass-produced mallets and composition balls is in as different a class from true "English-type" croquet as pony trekking from polo. A set of such inferior stuff sells for something nearer \$25 to \$100, but may yield just as much fun.

There was a day, some 300 years ago, when a crude precursor of the game was played with a curved club, wooden ball, hoops, and a peg.

Samuel Pepys called it "pease meale." This, it is said, became pet-mall or pall-mall — though whether the teeming London street of that name was once a placid croquet court is beyond the scope of this correspondent's history.

Today croquet is a sport for all. Young and old, male and female can enjoy it equally. "We're bringing the family back together again," Jack Osborn quips.

But if you want to mix business with your sport, beware! The fierce concentration needed in croquet to plan the long-range destruction of your opponent means you'd best stick to golf. There's more to "running a hoop" than meets the eye ... clunk!



Gold: we could get by without it

By Francis Henny

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Once a week, a British Airways freight plane touches down at the fairyland airport of Dubai, on the Gulf. (It is one of the prettiest and most expensive terminals in the world.) Off the plane come case after case full of gold ingots and sovereigns. They vanish into the Dubai market, and within a week — by the time the next consignment arrives — not a trace is left.

According to the annual review of Consolidated Gold Fields, Dubai and other Middle Eastern customers purchased about 400 tons of new gold last year — about 30 percent of the total put on sale. But it was not just bullion from oil sales going into sheikly bank vaults, by any means. Much of it was in the form of gold jewelry, made in Italy and sold to Gulf workers.

For among the consumers of the gold are the scores of thousands of immigrant workers in the sheikhdoms and Saudi Arabia: Pakistanis, Iranians, even Chinese. And these people believe more firmly in gold bangles round their wives' wrists than they do in paper bank accounts.

All over the India-Pakistan subcontinent, it is a gold dowry that gets the daughter well married and gold chains that are kept as family savings and gold in time of famine to buy grain.

With all the work to be had in the oil sheikhdoms and the unquestionably high wages being paid immigrants (who make up 90 percent of the population in Dubai) are queuing

up to purchase gold. Some of the Italian manufacturers are six months behind with their orders. A welcome boost to a sick economy.

Both India and Pakistan have theoretically strict rules about the importation of gold: it weakens the value of the rupee. But smuggling is widespread. For a start, customs officers are hesitant about searching vetted ladies at busy airports; but a minority of the gold enters by air. Dubai's magical Venice-like port is crowded with what appear to be old-fashioned sailing dhows — which, on closer examination turn out to be fitted with high-powered modern diesel engines, fast enough to outrun the average patrol boat. Most of the gold travels by sea.

Supplies of saleable gold on the free market rose last year to just under 1,500 tons. This despite a fairly constant level of output by the main producer, South Africa. The increase, according to Consolidated, was mainly due to heavy sales by the Soviet Union, the world's second largest producer, and the selling of reserves by China.

Another source was the International Monetary Fund, whose auctions helped to keep prices fairly steady in 1976. Lately, renewed fears about inflation turned prices upwards again — a continuing trend. There is still no sign the metal has lost its magic with the people of the East, even though Western economic thinkers may deplore its uselessness and the fact that a bar of bullion yields no interest. Arabs say: "Gold keeps silence."

Beirut, Lebanon, suffered a severe setback as a free gold market, due to the civil war. Time was when you could wander into the gold

bazaar and order a dozen gold sovereigns out of a bin as if they were chocolates.

The vendor would even enquire whether you wanted London-made sovereigns or locally made? The local ones, to make up for lack of authenticity, were usually of a slightly finer quality gold. As for bangles and chains, these were sold by weight plus a small percentage for craftsmanship. But now the business has moved to places like Damascus, Teheran and Kuwait.

Could gold ever lose its value, undermine the savings of millions of peasants and small businessmen? From time to time rumors circulate that Russia has enormous reserves of bullion that it intends to dump on the market, flooding the currencies of the West. But there has been no evidence of such an ability so far, and bullion dealers are convinced the rumors are bluff or even part of a deliberate attempt to undermine the Soviet Union's reserves. As a poor exporter, the Soviet Union seems to need its gold production as a reserve to buy grain with when the crops fail. It would not be in its own interests to demolish the market.

There are perennial stories about a process for extracting gold from sea water; and rather more probable speculation about the chances for mining it below the sea bed. Clearly, when the world's natural resources are becoming exhausted, the world will have to go somewhere for other supplies as well as gas and oil. But as with oil, the costs of production are going to be high.

Gold is not lying about, hundreds of billions deep like sand. And when all is said and done, unlike oil we just could get by without it.

Callaghan: 'Either this government governs or goes'

By Takeshi Oke

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

London

"Big Jim" Callaghan is a resourceful and resilient prime minister. His own Labour Party is badly divided. He depends on a shaky alliance with 13 Liberals in the House of Commons to stay in power. It is at all certain that trade union leaders will give him the third year of wage restraint he needs if he is to bring inflation down from its 17 percent-a-year level.

But he is not about to throw in the towel. Last week he was engaged in a concerted effort to bring left-wing Labourites to heel, to consolidate his alliance with the Liberals, and to coax trade union leaders into an agreement on the wage front.

"Either this government governs or it goes," Mr. Callaghan told a crowded meeting of parliamentary Labour Party June 21. "I will look to every member to support the government or tell the chief whip he is not prepared to do so."

"I am not speaking in anger or in pique. I am speaking with the utmost goodwill, but I must speak straight about this matter."

Atmosphere 'cordial'
Left-wingers listened intently to Mr. Callaghan's words and the atmosphere was described as "cordial." Later, two leading left-wingers, Eric Heffer and Norman Atkinson, said the government must be sustained in power.

To the opposition Conservatives and their leader, Margaret Thatcher, Mr. Callaghan had this defiant message delivered recently in his constituency of Cardiff, Wales: "Huff and puff as much as you like, we shall keep straight on [without calling an election] until the day comes for a fair test and when that day comes I have no fear of the result."

In tactical terms, the Prime Minister's preoccupation is to avoid an election at least until next year. The House of Commons current mandate does not run out until October, 1979, but the government is in a minority of three in the Commons, and defections by left-wingers and others mean that legislation it considers essential often does not get through.

As Mr. Callaghan told MPs June 21, "No single action can bring the government down but a dozen defeats do not leave the government's position unaffected."

Own party the problem
His main problems were being caused not by Conservatives but by Labour MPs on the questions of devolution (a measure of self-rule for Scotland and Wales), and direct elections to the European Community's parliament and also on the budget (two Labour MPs recently sided with the Conservatives to reduce personal taxes by £450 million — \$765 million).



Straight talk from 'Big Jim'

Sven Simon

But inflation finally shows signs of declining from the more than 17 percent-per-year figure recorded in recent months. The May rise in retail prices was only 0.5 percent. Trade figures also are improving. The March-to-May period showed a correct account surplus of £39 million (\$63.3 million) compared to a deficit of £321 million (\$545.7 million) for the preceding three months.

'Why give up now?'

Why, Mr. Callaghan is asking his own party dissidents, should a Labour government throw away all the hard, unpopular work of the past two years just at the time when the results appear to be coming through and let the Conservatives reap the benefits?

But there is one big "if." Mr. Callaghan's success will depend on the kind of agreement he is able to get from trade union leaders about wage restraint for the coming year — the so-called Phase 3.

Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey has been bringing all his powers of persuasion to bear on the unions. He has set his sights on a wage rise of less than 10 percent. On the success or failure of his efforts, the fate of the Callaghan administration largely depends.

Spanish elections

Why Christian Democrats got but one percent

By Joe Gandelman

Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid

Spain's Christian Democrats, who led the campaign for reform in the first months after General Franco's passing, suffered a humiliating defeat in the June 15 elections and are trying to find out why.

They got only 1 percent of the total vote and did not win a single seat in the lower house of the new Cortes (Parliament).

For the Christian Democrat Federation (FDC), led by former Franco Education Minister Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez and the family of former republican War Minister José María Gil Robles, it was a bitterly ironic setback.

The Christian Democrats began organizing in the mid-'50s, and often defended leftists during the Franco regime's darkest days. Mr. Ruiz-Giménez founded *Cuadernos Para el Diálogo*, Spain's most thoughtful magazine, and was later forced out as editor by then Information Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne.

The identity of the Christian Democrats was blurred in the election campaign by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez's Union of the Democratic Center (UCD). Conservative Christian Democrats left their party and went over to the UCD in response to an appeal by Mr. Suárez for a united front of all centrists to defeat the Socialists and Communists and to crush the "Redwing" Popular Alliance of Mr. Fraga.

Some analysts say Mr. Suárez originally wanted Christian Democratic leader Giménez to head the UCD but that negotiations failed and the Prime Minister led the election campaign himself.

The fundamental mistake of the main body of the Christian Democrats was to fight the election alone outside the UCD.

The Christian Democrat leaders' ages and political pasts did not help. Mr. Robles, who in his mid-seventies was a rightist leader during the republic. Mr. Giménez was criticized by far leftists for various posts he held under Franco plus his appointment by the dictator to the puppet Cortes in 1958. He resigned from the Cortes in 1965, and became one of the opposition's most respected leaders. His admirers include Communist chief Santiago Carrillo and leader of the Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) Felipe González. They have publicly lamented his political fate.

Still another factor in the Christian Democratic defeat was the attitude of the church, which did not formally take a political stand, thus depriving the party of its endorsement. At the same time many Spaniards so identified the word "Christian" with the church's conservative influence during the Franco era that Mr. Robles's son declared: "There is no relation between our party and the church hierarchy."

Mr. Giménez attributes the debacle to the "center avalanche" and strong Socialist rebellion in Spain.

Overwhelming consensus is that the Christian Democrats gravely miscalculated.

Green car makes Brezhnev see red

Rambouillet, France

Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev saw red when his French host gave him a car painted green, French officials said.

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing presented the Kremlin leader, a sports car enthusiast and wild-game hunter, with two cars representing the pride of France's motor industry — a Matra Bagheera sports model and a Rancho field car.

But, according to the French officials, Mr. Brezhnev rejected the Rancho because he did not like the color. He wanted it in blue rather than green. The French are complying.

The issue was just one instance of how Mr. Brezhnev, who arrived in Paris last Monday on a three-day official visit, has imposed his will on his hosts.

The Soviet President was in meet Jacques Chirac, Gaullist leader and Paris mayor, at the Paris Town Hall although this was not included in his official program.

Mr. Chirac, who resigned as prime minister in a row with Mr. Giscard d'Estaing last August, was not included in the list of guests for a banquet at the Elysée Palace.

Mr. Brezhnev, however, invited Mr. Chirac to a lunch he was holding at the Soviet Embassy in Paris June 21.

Europe

Blueprint drawn for security talks

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Belgrade

The nine countries of the European Community, with the backing of the United States, have presented a blueprint for the autumn review conference on European security and cooperation that is designed to ensure unrestricted debate on human rights and other sensitive issues.

The plan was submitted by Britain on behalf of the EC at a working session of the preparatory meeting that opened here June 15 to draft the agenda for the fall gathering. Chief U.S. delegate Albert W. Shorer made a brief supporting speech. The plan also has the support of other NATO allies.

At a news conference, Mr. Scherer said it "is not a perfect paper" but "necessary compromises" based on other governments' ideas had been accepted. "We agree with the paper 100 percent," he said.

The main point of compromise was on the question of duration of the review conference, which is likely to open here in early October.

The U.S. is loath to talk in terms of target or termination dates in order to go into an entirely open-ended meeting and thus forestall any move for closure before all aspects of the implementation of the 1975 Helsinki declaration have been explored critically and thoroughly.

Behind this is the suspicion that the Soviets and their allies might try to use a terminal date to shorten or squeeze out discussion on touchy issues such as human rights and fill the time with lengthy debate on vague political concepts for the future.

In effect, however, the Western plan meets that end. It suggests that 12 weeks should be a reasonable enough time in which to complete the main, ministerial meeting, but it does not suggest any closing date.

If adopted by this preparatory meeting, the plan would involve the Russians in acceptance of certain guidelines, set by the Final Act at Helsinki two years ago, including a "through exchange of views" on all the commitments undertaken by its signatories.

The Western blueprint, described as an "organizational model," also focuses on ways and means of deepening East-West détente and cooperation and on the framework of further meetings at ministerial level or of experts.

But its primary purpose is to ensure that the main meeting shall last as long as is necessary to cover all the ground foreseen for review in the Helsinki Final Act. And it insists that the meeting shall not be closed until it has achieved an acceptable concluding document. This would seem to meet American reluctance to be bound in any way by dates.

The leader of the British delegation, Iain Sutherland, said he had been encouraged by indications that "this businesslike approach is shared by all delegations at this meeting." Ambassador Shorer remarked, "Perhaps it is going better than I expected."

But the "approach" is one thing. When it comes down to decision on details the going will get tougher.

[The Soviet Union took a relatively conciliatory line in its opening statement at the Belgrade conference, the United Press International reported, quoting Western delegates.]

[Soviet chief delegate Yury Vorontsov told the conference's closed-door, second session that the Soviet Union had "come here to do serious business" and that his delegation would "seriously consider" Western proposals for the agenda of the meeting.]

[Mr. Vorontsov did not present any specific reaction to the Western "package proposal" for the organization of the conference.]

Europe

Dublin: the vote clear, the message vague

By Jonathan Hirsch
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

By its surprise defeat of the coalition government, the Irish electorate has asserted itself firmly — but no one is sure what the voters' message is.

Irish political commentators and pollsters predicted a government victory — and then watched in stunned disbelief as not only the government, but three of its top Cabinet ministers, lost out to the equally surprised opposition Fianna Fail.

One early explanation for the upset is that Southern Irishmen went more positive action taken to recover Northern Ireland from Britain.

This explanation seems supported by the defeat of Cabinet ministers Conor Cruise O'Brien, the government's most outspoken critic of Irish unification, and Patrick Conboy, who as Justice Minister led the successful battle to jail increasing numbers of the illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA) for longer sentences. Both in Northern Ireland and in Britain Dr. O'Brien and Mr. Conboy were considered "helpful," and their defeats could lead to a souring in ways delicate Anglo-Irish relations, as well as to an increase in the North's distrust of the South. This will be particularly true if, as expected, the new Prime Minister, Jack Lynch, reappoints Charles J. Haughey to a Cabinet post.

When Fianna Fail was in power before its 1973 defeat, Mr. Lynch dismissed Mr. Haughey from the government and kept him and his followers at a safe distance due to allegations against Mr. Haughey. Though cleared by the courts, Mr. Haughey still is generally regarded as having alighted off government relief funds to aid IRA guerrilla groups in Northern Ireland.

During the election campaign, Mr. Lynch continually dissociated himself and his party from the few party hawks who openly called for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. But despite the personal charm and reputation for integrity, he will find it difficult to maintain good relations with Northern Ireland if he brings Mr. Haughey back into the Cabinet.

Yet Mr. Haughey is almost certain to return — not because of Northern Ireland, but because of the troubled Irish economy, which was probably the deciding factor in the election.

Mr. Haughey is given credit on all sides for his economic expertise. He was the main architect of Fianna Fail's election promise to create needed jobs with massive but carefully phased overseas borrowing.

Ousted Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave and his Cabinet of Academics took a moral stand in regard to Northern Ireland, while becoming increasingly involved internationally.

The new Fianna Fail government is more liable to conclude that in the best interests of domestic economic survival:



Lynch: stuns pollsters

• Northern Ireland should be left to fend for itself, backed with its \$2 million per day British subsidy but without further help from the South.

• Heavy expenditure on opening new embassies abroad and playing a prestigious role in designing and implementing European Community (EC) policies should be curtailed.

• Promoting jobs and confidence inside the Republic of Ireland is the first priority.

Czechoslovakia

Pressure drives human rights activists West

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Czechoslovakia's human rights campaign has suffered a severe blow by the decision of one of its leading activists, Zdenek Mlynar, to emigrate and by the news that other dissidents also may opt for "voluntary" exile.

Mr. Mlynar, who helped draft the Alexander Dubcek reform program in 1968, crossed the border into Austria with his wife June 13, and the couple will probably settle in this country.

The human rights campaign started in Czechoslovakia with the publication last January of the Charter 77 manifesto. It turned into one of the most spirited stands for individual freedoms Eastern Europe has seen for many years.

Protest letter

Three months ago, Mr. Mlynar and 10 other former party committee officials or members addressed a letter to all European Communists — Soviet bloc, Western, and Yugoslav — protesting the Prague government's arbitrary tactics in trying to snuff out the Charter 77 campaign.

Among them were Dr. Jiri Hajek, foreign minister under Mr. Dubcek; Dr. Vladimir Kadelec, his education minister; and three members of Mr. Dubcek's party presidium.

Even before this letter, Mr. Mlynar, a widely traveled entomologist, had been dismissed from a minor job at the National Museum as a "subversive influence" on colleagues.

He had rejected an official "invitation" to go into exile abroad shortly after Charter 77 appeared.

Similar offers were made to Dr. Hajek, Milan Hlubek (former head of the party college), the playwright Pavel Kohout, and a veteran former member of the Presidium, the physician Frantisek Kriegel. All declined.

But the regime has steadily increased the pressure on the dissidents. The tactics have varied from periodic detentions and threats of "criminal" charges to personal and often of-fense harassment in everyday life, including constant surveillance, cancellation of telephone licenses, and disconnection of telephones — all designed to isolate the rights campaigners and limit their activity.

Many were assailed in the media as "drop-outs and traitors" and subjected to accusations and smears they have had no opportunity to answer. Many were dismissed from the modest jobs they had gotten after being denied employment in their own professional or academic spheres.

Besides Mlynar . . .

Dr. Hajek, one of Charter 77's original spokesmen, has been under virtual house arrest in his Prague home. Another, the noncommunist writer Václav Havel, was released last month after four months in detention. Mr. Havel, it emerged, had agreed to relinquish his role as spokesman, although he vigorously disputed an official implication that he had modified his support for the charter.

With the movement deprived of its leaders in one way or another, it is not surprising that some have begun to feel the strain.

The well-known Czech historian Jan Tesar and Mr. Hlubek are among those who appear to see no alternative by emigration.

Professor Tesar also was released late last year after spending four years in jail. He has been barred from academic or even other employment since.

Mr. Hlubek, who was among those who fought in the 1960s for the release and rehabilitation of today's party leader, Dr. Husak, has complained of the exclusion of his son (21) and daughter (18) from institutes of higher education, although both qualified in entrance examinations.

Such educational discrimination against the children of the 1968 reformers was the subject of one of the charter's early appeals to the Prague government for observance of rights claimed in the country's Constitution as well as in the 1975 Helsinki Declaration.

With Brezhnev crowned, who's to sit beside the throne?

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

Now that Leonid Brezhnev is established as the most powerful Soviet figure since Joseph Stalin — he is the first to serve simultaneously as both chief of state and chief of party — intense interest here is focused on future leadership moves.

Although Mr. Brezhnev is dominant today, his assumption of the post of chief of state June 16 could be the first in a series of shifts that will reveal the shape of the next era.

But Western Kremlin-watchers here do not see any immediate changes in either Soviet foreign or domestic policies as a result of the ceremony June 16.

The next leadership change is expected in October, when the name of the man who will fill the newly created post of first vice-president of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet could be announced.

At least one veteran Kremlin-watcher suggests that the post is likely to go to Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

Mr. Gromyko has received wide publicity here since the former chief of state, Nikolai Podgorny, was relieved of his duties in the Politburo May 24. Mr. Gromyko's name has been linked with Mr. Brezhnev's repeatedly as the two men have guided visiting leaders and foreign ministers.

Other theories have the new post — established by the new Constitution whose text is to be ratified by an extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Soviet in October — filled by Andrei Kirilenko or Vladimir Shcherbitsky.

Both are members of the Politburo and are thought loyal to Mr. Brezhnev. Mr. Kirilenko, a former aircraft design engineer who has been heir apparent to Mr. Brezhnev for several years, is three months older than Mr. Brezhnev.

Mr. Shcherbitsky, almost 12 years younger, is party chief of the Ukraine.

Some analysts say Mr. Brezhnev, who is from the Ukraine, would not favor another Ukrainian as his deputy. They think he would choose a man of Russian nationality, such as Mr. Gromyko or Fyodor Kulakov.

Mr. Kulakov is also 12 years younger than Mr. Brezhnev. He is tipped as a likely eventual successor to Mr. Brezhnev among the younger generation of top leaders.

At the Supreme Soviet session which appointed Mr. Brezhnev to the chief of state's job (that is, to the post of president of the Presidium) June 16, Mr. Kulakov for the first time sat in the front rank of Politburo leaders.

Mr. Podgorny was not in the hall at all June 16. It was announced that he had requested resignation from the post of chairman in connection with his retirement on pension.

Such language was notably lacking from the terse resolution of the Central Committee of the party May 24. It simply said he was relieved of his duties as a member of the Politburo and made no explanation.

Western analysts still say Mr. Podgorny was forced out of his posts. They noted his absence June 16, and the lack of any tributes to him (compared with those paid to his predecessor, Anastas Mikoyan, in 1965).

His portraits are no longer to be seen. He is not mentioned in the press.

Kremlin-watchers want to learn if Mr. Brezhnev will treat the first vice-president's job as a stepping stone to the No. 1 job of all — party chief — or whether he will appoint an older man such as veteran ideologist Mikhail Suslov.

It was Mr. Suslov who nominated Mr. Brezhnev to the chief of state position June 16, thus ensuring a public closing of the ranks behind the new chief of state.

Soviet Union

With Brezhnev crowned, who's to sit beside the throne?



Brezhnev: top man in fact and name

Moscow cameras roll at world church meeting

By Richard M. Hirsley
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

Western churchmen are speculating on the significance of a huge gathering of world religious leaders held in Moscow a week before the opening in Belgrade of the first stage of a new East-West conference on détente in Europe.

While some of those who attended the meeting wondered whether it signaled some kind of new Soviet attitude toward religion, they said it was probably intended to complement a broader series of Soviet moves.

Government plans to turn aside possible criticism in Belgrade that it has not upheld human rights; the June 4 unveiling of a new Soviet constitution that spells out religious rights; and the emergence of Leonid Brezhnev into a double role as head of the Soviet Communist Party and chief of state.

The meeting brought together 633 churchmen from 107 countries in America, Africa, the United Kingdom, Europe, and Asia, including representatives from world organizations of Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists.

American churchmen who attended described it as a lavish occasion — "something out of a storybook," and "comparable to the hospitality shown high foreign officials."

The conference was unique in certain respects, said the churchmen who have attended previous religious conferences in Moscow.

It received massive publicity, with constant television and press coverage of its sessions. For the first time the Moscow Orchestra and Chorus staged a three-hour program at the Conservatory of Music with half the program devoted to Russian religious music — music normally confined to church services of the Russian Orthodox Church. The conference participants each received a gift record album of the performance.

And Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin gave the opening address at the meeting — a role usually performed by the minister for religious affairs in the U.S.S.R.

Commenting on the significance of these events, Dr. Christoff Schmauch, a minister of the United Church of Christ and director of the World Fellowship Dialogue Center in Conway, New Hampshire, said: "On balance, I would say that when anything like this happens in the U.S.S.R., the government must be convinced that there is enough in it for them."

The conference itself was marked by:

- Open discussion of disarmament, human rights, and religious freedoms, including some frank criticism of the Soviet government on religious and human rights by Western European churchmen; criticism of the United States and the Soviet Union for their continued arms race; and attempts to press third-world countries to halt their acquisition of weaponry.
- Writing of a final communiqué to appeal to governments of the participants to "give priority to the struggle against bribery and corruption, against abuse of bureaucratic power, and against violation of basic human rights."
- Expression of great concern by East and West European churchmen for the outcome of the Belgrade conference, which is to begin reviewing compliance with the 1975 Helsinki declaration of European security and cooperation.

Editorial

Behind the Irish change

That unexpected change of government in Ireland may well be due more to economic factors than political, but the new Fianna Fail regime of former Prime Minister John Lynch nevertheless will be watched closely on its attitude toward the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) and British-controlled Northern Ireland.

Mr. Lynch himself is regarded as a moderate who has made appeals in the United States against individual Americans supporting the IRA with funds that might provide that militant organization with weapons. And his Fianna Fail party will not permit the IRA to operate in the Irish Republic itself. But north of the border, in Northern Ireland, there is likely to be concern among Protestants and British officials that the new Dublin

government will not be as helpful as the ousted Cosgrave regime in trying to keep IRA operatives under control. Mr. Cosgrave's Fine Gael party was more willing to suck its neck out against the IRA.

As far as British control of Northern Ireland is concerned, the two parties are slightly different in their approach. Mr. Cosgrave in effect recognized the British position in Ulster and did not call for withdrawal now. Mr. Lynch's party, by contrast, wants a phased British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, although the date for such action has been left vague.

Thus the change brings to power an Irish party more hawkish on traditional republican issues, with a leader in Mr. Lynch who acts as a dovish moderating influence. However, now

that leading Irish-American politicians such as Senator Kennedy have urged President Carter to take a firm stand against American private support for the IRA, it is to be hoped that the new Irish Prime Minister can persuade his party similarly to keep up the pressure against IRA violence.

On matters economic, Mr. Lynch will have his work cut out for him, due to Ireland's high unemployment and inflation rates. Since these bread-and-butter issues affect every Irishman personally, they doubtless influenced many a choice in the ballot box — probably more than political issues such as the IRA. Now Mr. Lynch, who speaks of a plan for heavy overseas borrowing to get Ireland out of economic trouble, will have to do better than his predecessor.

Wanted: more room on airlines for nonsmokers

By Lyn Shepard
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Europe-based airlines are carefully studying the unique legal settlement requiring Eastern Airlines to reserve 65 percent of its plane seats for nonsmoking passengers.

Spokesmen for the industry say the United States case is sure to have broad repercussions here and throughout the world.

"You can expect us to follow the Americans," predicted a British Airways official in the Swiss financial capital.

"We haven't heard from London yet, but we're getting more and more complaints from nonsmoking passengers. You can be certain new instructions are being worked out."

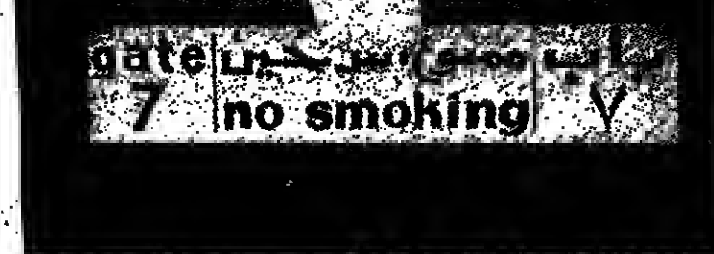
The Eastern settlement, announced June 14 by the Washington-based Aviation Consumer Action Project, committed the airline to label the "no smoking" sections clearly and permanently. The airline also has agreed to expand these sections to accommodate all nonsmokers on any flight.

Even before the American "breakthrough" case, airline spokesmen here say customer complaints had brought about major concessions to nonsmokers.

Section extended
A Swissair official, for instance, pointed to his company's decision this year to expand its "no smoking" sections from an average of 15 to 50 percent of the seats available.

The source said the percentage still varies greatly, depending on the flight destination.

"The French and English," he said, "smoke more heavily than the Swiss, the Scandinavians, and the Americans. So maybe 40 to 50 percent of our London and Paris passengers want to smoke. It may be just the other way around on flights to New York, Stockholm, or Oslo."



By R. Norman Mahony, staff photographer

Other major carriers such as British Airways say the percentage of nonsmokers on a flight depends largely on the type of aircraft.

"On a Trident we'll have to set aside 45 percent of our seats for nonsmokers," one source says. "On the 747, it drops to 40 percent, and on the Concorde you'll find a lot of businessmen puffing on pipes and cigars."

The official agrees with American consumer groups who say the Eastern case will be crucial for the airline industry as a whole — especially those serving the United States market from abroad.

"So far we have no fixed percentage for nonsmokers," he says. "Now that may change."

"We do know that a lot depends on whether a flight is a business-man's route or a holiday route. The holiday routes serve the whole family — including children — and the parents expect a 'no smoking' area."

As a result, either for sound business reasons or simply to ensure good customer relations, the airlines admit they need to reserve more and more room for nonsmokers.



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Soviet Union

Rock keeps Soviets dancing in the aisles

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Yerevan, U.S.S.R.

From an improvised stage in the center of the local bicycle-racing track, wave after wave of American rock music blasted through red and purple spotlights, engulfing a rapturous audience in an avalanche of ear-splitting sound.

Four thousand Soviet Armenians of all ages stamped, yelled, clapped, swayed... suddenly to twos and threes, young people began to rise from their seats to dance in the aisles and between rows.

One black-bearded teen-ager jumped the barricades and ran onto the stage as the five musicians played on. Unceremoniously he was dumped back into the audience by an alert band official. In a rare scene of protest here, clearly audible boos followed uniformed police as they hustled the youth to the nearest exit.

It all added up to one more place of evidence that U.S. rock music is driving deeper and deeper into the Soviet Union.

It happened during one of 19 concerts just given in five Soviet cities by the first American rock band to give live performances here on tour.

The group was the Dirt Band, formerly known as the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, from Colorado. A popular touring band in the United States, it combines bluegrass, country, Cajun, and rock.

It is perhaps best known in the U.S. for its hit record of the early 1970s, "Mr. Bojangles."

"We thought Soviet audiences would be quiet," said drummer-singer-guitarist-harmonica player Jimmie Fadden. "But they are antithetical, very much so."

The tour was the product of seven years of behind-the-scenes effort by U.S. officials. It followed the visit of another group, the Vegetables, which played background music to the Joffrey Ballet Group during the second half of

performances in 1974. That group, however, did not give concerts on its own. The dancers were the main attraction.

But the Dirt Band was front and center - and U.S. officials who traveled with it May 2-24 from Tbilisi, Georgia, to Yerevan, Armenia, Leningrad and Moscow reported not a single complaint that the music was too loud or too wild.

"The louder it is the friendlier it is," commented a uniformed policeman on duty at a Yerevan concert. He liked the show, he said.

"I liked the second half especially," said a Moscow woman. The second half contained the loudest rock, including "Battle of New Orleans" and "Orange Blossom Special."

The director of the sponsoring Soviet agency, the State Concert Society, told one U.S. official, "I like it. It's a little loud, but I like it."

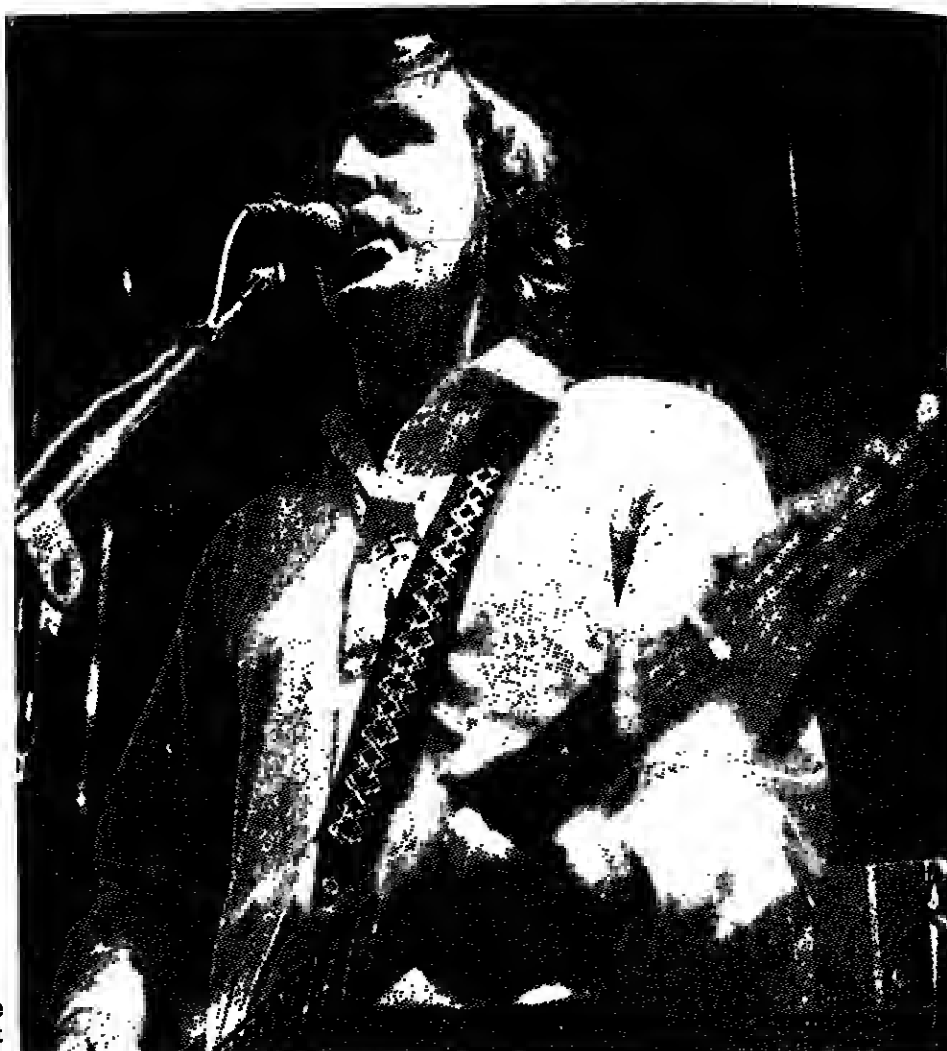
"Please have the band play something louder, hotter, something the kids here know," asked a Georgian official after the first half of the first concert of the tour in Tbilisi. The official was worried because 1,000 of the 2,500 seats were empty.

Every concert for the rest of the tour was sold out, according to a U.S. cultural attaché in Moscow, David Hess.

The final concert in Tbilisi attracted a huge overflow. Tickets averaged \$2 a head.

On the last night in Yerevan 5,700 people jammed into the 4,000-seat stand. A 6,000-seat hall in Riga sold out five times in a row. About 70,000 Soviets attended the various concerts. Countless more saw the band on recorded programs on television in Tbilisi, Yerevan, and Moscow.

About 15,000 youths roamed outside the stands on the last night in Yerevan. Some tried to divert police attention by tossing firework flares over the walls while friends scrambled in without paying. One container held tear gas, and that scattered a portion of the crowd.



By Stewart Orr McBride

Rock music driving deeper and deeper into Soviet Union

U.S. officials expected audiences to be warmer in the sunny southern areas. But Leningrad and Moscow were both enthusiastic. Audiences in Riga listened quietly - then applauded for minutes at a time.

Especially popular was banjo and mandolin and fiddle player John McEuen, a tall, lanky

figure with a beard and shoulder-length dark hair. In Yerevan he sported a brown outfit with blue and orange sneakers. His virtuosity on a \$5,000 Gibson banjo won consistent applause.

At Soviet request, McEuen, Jackie Clark, Fadden, Jett Hanna, and John Cable were joined by a female singer. She was Jan Garrett of the Liberty Band, who sang blues and other nonrock numbers.

Police kept close watch on all audiences and moved quickly if any uncontrolled emotion seemed likely to cause trouble.

Rock is increasingly popular here. Rock operas have been performed in Tbilisi, Riga, and Leningrad. Students at a transport engineers' institute in Moscow recently wrote their own rock opera for an annual student show. Young people listen avidly to the Voice of America and other Western radio broadcasts.

The U.S. Embassy is interested in arranging a tour next year of the U.S. jazz-rock group Chicago.

Why Toth was allowed to catch his plane

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Moscow

Why did the Soviet Union suddenly ease its confrontation with Washington over U.S. correspondent Robert C. Toth June 16 and give him permission to leave the country?

According to a number of Western analysts here, the reasons could include:

• The Soviets felt they had achieved their basic aim in the 13½ hours of questioning undergone by Mr. Toth - sending warnings to dissidents, U.S. correspondents, and world opinion that contacts between dissidents and the West are classed here as illegal, criminal behavior and will be treated as such.

• Another primary aim of the questioning of Mr. Toth - collection of information to be used later in a trial of prominent dissident Anatoly Shcharansky - also had been achieved.

• The strong protests of the Carter administration in Washington and the extremely wide publicity given the Toth case could have caused the Soviets to release Mr. Toth more quickly than they might otherwise have done.

A telephone call to Mr. Toth's office mid-

morning June 16 saying that he was free to leave came as a complete surprise. The night before Mr. Toth's newspaper, the Los Angeles Times, had felt the situation was grim.

At that time protests by the Carter administration appeared to have been ignored. So was Western opinion: the final 6½ hours of interrogation took place on the same day that 35 nations, including the Soviet Union and the U.S., met in Belgrade to prepare for a later gathering to review human rights and other issues.

But the telephone call was from one of the men who had interrogated Mr. Toth at the KGB Lefortovo Prison the day before. Mr. Toth could leave the Soviet Union, could do what he wanted.

A few minutes later visas for Mr. Toth, his wife, and three children were available at the Moscow passport office. He was given until July 1 to leave from any open (unrestricted) port, which indicated he was not being expelled. Expulsion usually carries a time limit of 48 hours.

The Toths flew to London on the afternoon of June 17 and proceeded from there to their home in California.

Significantly, Mr. Toth's interrogators kept telling him that as a correspondent he possessed no diplomatic immunity. He was subject to all Soviet laws. This was seen here as a direct warning to other Western correspondents to stay away from dissidents - and to dissidents to realize that contact with correspondents offered them no aid or comfort.

Many dissidents, including the nuclear physicist, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, say they are even more dependent on Western help and publicity now. Another view comes from historian Roy Medvedev, who is said to believe that outside pressure cannot cause internal Soviet reforms. But Dr. Sakharov says Mr. Carter's pressure must continue.

Mr. Toth says that his sudden release was an admission that the original point made against him - that he had collected secret political and military information - was in error. It not a triumph.

He also was questioned about Mr. Shcharansky, who was arrested last March 18 after

being charged with spying for the CIA - a charge recently denied by President Carter himself. The impression given during the questioning was that any information obtained unofficially can be classified as secret here.

Analysts - and Mr. Toth - also think that protests to Soviet Ambassador in Washington Anatoly Dobrynin, and a statement by Mr. Carter June 16 leaving open the possibility that a Soviet official might be expelled for the U.S. in retaliation, cut short the questioning and the bar to leaving the country.

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Toth: home free

United States

On the road to Peking, Taiwan is the pothole

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

America's newly returned envoy to Peking urged the Carter administration to move more rapidly toward establishment of full diplomatic relations with China.

Thomas S. Gates, who served for a year as head of the U.S. liaison mission in Peking, believes the United States can establish full relations with China, break such relations with the Nationalist government on Taiwan, and still maintain its thriving trade with Taiwan.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Gates said that China has "no capability and no interest in using force" against Taiwan.

"I'm afraid that if another year passes and the administration doesn't make some important moves [toward a normalization of relations], the pride of the Chinese may be hurt and they may get very sticky on details," he said.

Mr. Gates warned against a possible "stagnation" in U.S. relations with China and a feeling on the part of some administration officials that the U.S. is getting all it wants from China without establishing full relations and breaking with Taiwan.

"They sort of hope they can have their cake and eat it too," he said.

The diplomat also disagreed with those in the administration who believe that the situation in China is too unstable for the United States at this point to undertake major diplomatic initiatives.

"For China, things are pretty stable - more stable than when Nixon signed the Shanghai Communiqué," said Mr. Gates, referring to the document pointing toward a "normalization" of relations which President Richard M. Nixon signed during his trip to China in 1972.

The lack of progress toward normalization is "relatively acceptable," he said, when re-administrations in both the United States and China were getting "shaken down."

But he said that now it is in the interests of America's "long-range security" that it move to devise a formula under which it would break diplomatic relations with Taiwan while maintaining its other relations with the island. The administration, he said, has failed to educate the American public as to the necessity of moving in this direction.

In the meantime, in a speech June 16, Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois asserted that U.S.-Chinese relations "are still very fragile and could deteriorate unless carefully nurtured."

"This is an opportune time to move ahead. We have new leadership on both sides who may be able to see fresh approaches to old

problems..." said Senator Percy, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who once served as chairman of a congressional delegation to China.

In his speech to the National Council for U.S.-China Trade, the Senator said that "China has already accepted the view" that it the U.S. and China were to establish full diplomatic relations, American trade with Taiwan would continue unabated.

"There may never occur the kind of bonanza in trade with China that has sparked the imagination of many Western salesmen," said Senator Percy. "But potential for significant growth in U.S.-China trade, both in technology and sales, is definitely on the horizon it

political barriers to normalization can be removed.

"There can be no stability in Asia without the constructive participation of the Chinese," he said. "U.S.-China cooperation is necessary to balance the Soviet desire to expand its influence in the region."

Earlier, Mike Mansfield, the new American Ambassador to Japan, had called on China and the Nationalist government on Taiwan to hold talks to resolve their differences.

"Our policy is to continue to try to further normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, but the one roadblock is Taiwan," Mr. Mansfield said at a press conference June 15.

Carter vs. bureaucracy

Chalk up a few points for paperwork

By Clayton Jones
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

During the 1976 campaign, President Carter promised to reduce the number of federal agencies from about 1,900 to no more than 200. Now, says his chief reorganizer, the final number may be closer to 1,000.

On June 23, the President begins his long-promised reorganization of the federal bureaucracy - starting with his own area, the White House.

Chief Carter reorganizer William Harrison Wellford, an ex-Naderite, told reporters at breakfast June 21 that Mr. Carter will make substantial cuts in the "alphabetical mélange" of executive office agencies, from the OTP (Office of Telecommunications Policy) to the CWPS (Council of Wage and Price Stability).

Then, for the next four to eight years, some six additional reorganization packages will be

put before Congress to improve the services and efficiency of other agencies.

With a bottom-to-top approach, Mr. Wellford's staff has been polling citizens to find major complaints against government services. His staff has also sent questionnaires to lower- and middle-level U.S. workers - and kept in touch with major concerns expressed in letters to Congress.

The top complaint? The paper work burden. Then come conflicts with civil rights regulation. Then occupational safety and health rules.

The reorganization effort is aimed at improving the competence of government and thus restoring the confidence of citizens, said Mr. Wellford. A June Gallup poll found 67 percent of Americans held federal bureaucrats in low esteem.

But in digging into the reshuffle of agencies, Mr. Wellford has found each with its own voice of intransigence: "No unit is so humble that it

doesn't have a small army coming in its defense."

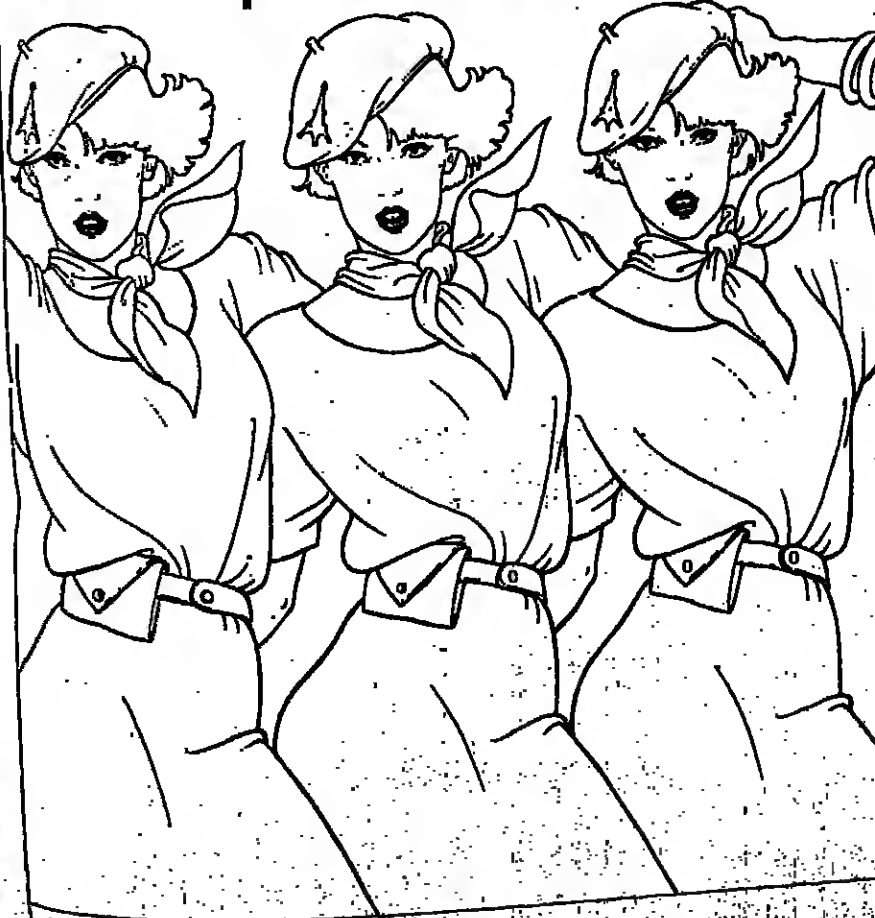
One purpose of the reorganization is to coordinate agencies which try to solve the same problems, so the public sees solutions as part of a coordinated government action.

Thus, each package coming from the Carter White House in future months will be directed at such topics as law enforcement, civil rights, and the environment. Congress appears to be moving quickly toward adopting Mr. Carter's request for a "Department of Energy," bringing together dozens of government units now dealing with energy.

Past reorganization efforts, both big and small, have attempted to impose a reorder of the bureaucracy from the "top down," rearranging boxes on an organizational chart. White House officials say Mr. Carter's approach is to ask employees at all levels how they can do their functions better. With pluses of responses, Mr. Carter's team is sitting through those suggestions.

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California farmers wage legal war for water

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
San Francisco

In the midst of severe drought, California's small farmers are fighting for enforcement of federal water regulations which they see as essential to their survival.

The battle centers on a half-million acres in the agriculturally rich San Joaquin Valley, and its outcome could leave a mark on future U.S. water policy in other dry states.

For years, farmers and land-reform advocates have charged that the federal Bureau of Reclamation - which provides much of the irrigation water for the dry Western states - has illegally ignored key provisions of the 1902 act which formed the agency.

That act provided that water supplied by the bureau could go only to farms of 100 acres or less on which the owner actually resided. Later amendments gave large landholders 10 years to sell excess land (amounts over 100 acres), but made no mention of the residency requirement.

Now, small farmers and their allies are asserting that both the residency requirement and the provision for sale of excess land, have gone unheeded by the bureau. And their cries are being heard.

A federal district court has upheld the residency requirement for Bureau of Reclamation projects in a case still pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals. The federal courts have also ruled that U.S. Army Corps of Engineers flood-control projects that provide irrigation water come under the 100-acre limit.

And in Washington, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus, who has authority over the Bureau of Reclamation, has named a task force to review the massive Westlands Water District in

California's San Joaquin Valley - as required under legislation recently signed by President Carter. The review will include an "evaluation of the success of the project in fostering family farms."

Group speaks up
"The intent of the [1902] law was to see real small, resident family farmers," says Mala Sortor of National Land for People, a California organization of farmers who own less than 100 acres. "If you eliminate residency, you weaken the law incredibly."

"Westlands Water District is a wedge," she adds, "the area where the most flagrant violations have gone on. The decisions that are made involving Westlands will also apply to the other Western states."

But much of the farmland in California's central valley is in fact owned either by large corporations (including such giants as Southern Pacific and Standard Oil of California), or by private owners who hold thousands of acres.

Federal action awaited
Reclamation officials say they are keeping pressure on corporate landowners to comply with the 100-acre limit, but contend that the residency requirement no longer applies. These two key issues may well be settled soon by federal court decisions and congressional action.

Spokesmen for the Interior Department and Bureau of Reclamation agree that the California case "may set a precedent," although one said, "I don't see how it could be made retroactive."

"The study of the operation of the Westlands Water District provides an excellent opportunity to consider issues that have plagued us for years," Secretary Andrus said in announcing the study group. "I am hopeful that the task force will resolve many long-standing problems."

United States

Angry protest invades politicians' homes

By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Arlington, Virginia
It was one of those lazy Sunday afternoons made for a drive in the country or dropping in on a neighbor.

Gail Cincotta, a platinum blonde Chicago housewife, decided to pay a visit to the man who lived at the end of a tree-shaded lane in this posh Washington suburb.

When she arrived, the man's sons were milling around the makeshift basketball court in their driveway. The neighbors were out watering their lawns and trimming the hedges. Polished Mercedes and station wagons were parked next to the curb and glistened in the afternoon sun.

Unusual about Mrs. Cincotta's house call was that the man she came to see was James Schlesinger, President Carter's energy adviser. And she had brought along a few of her friends — 18 busloads of protesting neighborhood leaders from across the country, armed with placards, bull horns, and a list of tough demands.

The visit is the latest example of a growing tendency among neighborhood action groups to use confrontation tactics to press demands for better housing, more police protection, lower utility rates, and fairer banking practices.

Mr. Schlesinger wasn't home when the crowd arrived in his front yard to demonstrate against utility rate hikes and oil company profits. But they left behind their calling cards: a trampled lawn, a stuffed dummy of Mr. Schlesinger hung in effigy from the garage basketball hoop and a front yard scattered with signs reading "No Nukes" and "No rate hikes."

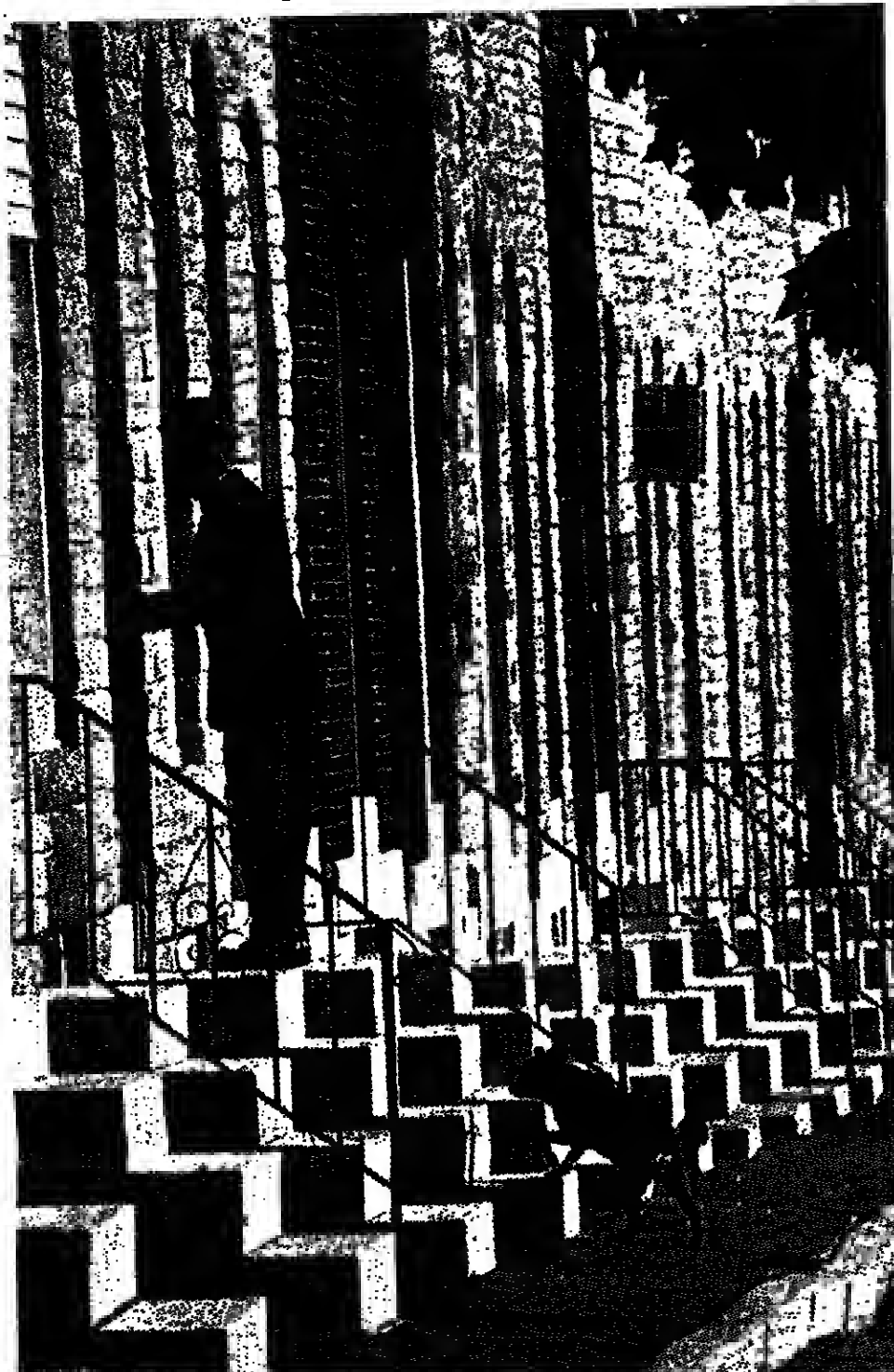
Mrs. Cincotta and her brigade then boarded their caravan of yellow school buses and journeyed cross-country to an elegant section of Northwest Washington where they offered similar treatment to the home of Patricia Roberts Harris, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Mrs. Harris was in Tucson addressing the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Mrs. Cincotta and some 2,500 community leaders from 100 cities converged on the nation's capital earlier this month. Their open confrontation tactics are a revival of the kind of organizing used by the late Saul Alinsky.

Mrs. Cincotta, who heads the Chicago-based National People's Action (NPA), the largest and most powerful of the neighborhood coalitions bringing pressure on Washington, claims the federal government and the nation's mayors are missing the boat.

"They are catering to the large financial institutions and trying to save the downtown areas," says Mrs. Cincotta who believes the heartbeat of the nation lies in the survival of neighborhoods.

"The outrage expressed here this weekend is just the tip of the iceberg of frustrations and anger that is building in the nation's cities and we have not seen the end of it," said Gene Baroni, a neighborhood advocate who recently was appointed assistant secretary of HUD and



Southeast Baltimore By Berth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

Not every knock on the door is a friendly one

attended NPA's "State of the Neighborhoods" meeting at Howard University.

Neighborhood leaders from Cleveland to Oklahoma City bluntly stated to government officials their demands about housing utilities, crime, and banking practices. One official said listening to such demands was like being "thrown to the lions."

NPA's tactics have gotten results. NPA led the fight against "redlining" (lending institutions' practice of cutting off loans to de-

teriorating neighborhoods) in Chicago and not long ago bulldozed through Congress a bill requiring disclosure of home mortgage information by financial institutions — legislation even Ralph Nader's consumer advocate agency had stalled on.

NPA was one of the principal forces behind establishment of the National Neighborhood Commission just signed into law by President Carter. Mrs. Cincotta is said to be a shoo-in as one of the commissioners.

After Hoover: a new broom for the FBI

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The largest structure on Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and Capitol Hill is the FBI building, named after J. Edgar Hoover, the enigmatic director who never married, never left the United States, and who is still the idol of thousands of agents of America's premier domestic undercover police organization.

President Carter now is seeking a new FBI director and has winnowed the selection down to five in the effort to restore the agency from what the New York Times editorially calls "the ruins left by J. Edgar Hoover."

Simultaneously, U.S. District Court Judge Hubert Will in Chicago, acting in a freedom of information suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), is releasing former files kept on the ACLU by the FBI for a generation or more. The files included derogatory dossiers on Felix Frankfurter, Thurgood Marshall — both later to the Supreme Court Justices — social worker Jane Addams, the heroic blind and deaf author, Helen Keller, and writers like Stephen Vincent Benet, Pearl Buck, and John Dos Passos.

The first batch of released documents runs to 3,072 pages covering 1920-1942, and another 17,000 pages from 1943 on will follow.

Disclosures of the FBI's suspicious watch of the ACLU indicate the delicacy of Mr. Carter's search for a suitable new director who can discriminate between what is subversive and what is legitimate articulation of free speech.

The file on Mr. Frankfurter was compiled when he taught law at Harvard and shows that he was considered a dangerous man by United States government employees.

Jane Addams, who founded Hull House in Chicago, is described on her dossier as a "zealous and consistent supporter of radical and revolutionary movements."

The ACLU was founded in World War I by Roger N. Baldwin, now 93. He said at the time:

"We stand on the general principle that all thought on matters of public concern should be freely expressed without interference. . . . The principle of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, embodied in our constitutional law, must be constantly reasserted and applied to be made effective."

The ACLU's civil liberties legal aid to Nazis, Ku Klux Klansmen, black activists, communists, and others often has made the ACLU controversial. It now is revealed that FBI confidential operatives joined its membership, started files on better-known contributors. These include, in the first batch, Upton Sinclair, William Allen White, Van Wyck Brooks, Heywood Brown, Pearl Buck, Eugene V. Debs, Norman Hapgood, Norman Thomas, John P. Merquand, Robert E. Sherwood, and Raymond Gram Swing.

An operative reporting on the well-known Emporia, Kansas, columnist William Allen White, a friend of Calvin Coolidge, noted that Mr. White was a "member of the committee on militarism in education, which is against military training in American schools," and that he is "a member of the Foreign Policy Association, which is a radical organization affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union."

Back in 1942, Mr. Baldwin complained to FBI Director Hoover, in a letter, that some FBI operatives seemed to think the ACLU was subversive "and that connection with it justifies investigation."

Nothing of the sort, protested Mr. Hoover on Nov. 7, 1942: "I can assure you that should the occasion ever arise when this bureau is desirous of obtaining any information concerning the activities of the ACLU, it will not hesitate to communicate with you in the first instance."

The letter came after the FBI had been scrutinizing and infiltrating the union for a generation.

Pupils explain why they don't use drugs

By Eric L. Zoelster
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

St. Louis
A background profile of teen-age students who do not use drugs, including alcohol, would have to include: parental discipline, family togetherness, and the influence of religion.

This is the conclusion of researchers here, after in-depth interviews with teen-agers who say they had not used mind-altering substances over the preceding 12 months.

Among the findings of the study, by the St. Louis County Office of Youth Programs, are these:

• Nine out of 10 of the nonusers described themselves as close to their parents. Nearly 7 of 10 said they were "very close" compared with their classmates.

• About 8 in 10 of the teen-agers said their parents often "checked up" on them when they left the house; 6 of 10 said this occurred "almost always."

• Nearly 8 in 10 described religion as either very or moderately important to them.

About the same percentage reported that their high-school grades averaged either A or B. And researchers said many of them reporting less than a A average were dissatisfied with their standing.

• Three out of 4 reported involvement in extracurricular activities. About 28 percent said they spent more than six hours a week in such activities.

The interviews were a follow-up to an earlier study of suburban teen-agers here aged 14 to 18 that found significant differences between 3,000 drug and alcohol users and nonusers. The latter constituted less than 20 percent of the earlier sample.

Researchers wanted detailed information on the nonusers to help formulate suggestions on how to handle the problem of drug abuse, which they any shows no signs of decreasing.

Two of three said having spending money was only moderately important or not important at all.

Neither was there a great concern with being popular. Less than 20 percent of the nonusers considered themselves "very popu-

lar" at school — but 8 in 10 said they were satisfied with their popularity status.

"What we've found here is a student who appears very well-adjusted, eager to remain busy at school or church, who just doesn't see the necessity for drinking or taking drugs," says Mr. Bodensieck.

He adds that this and a number of other surveys conducted by his office have suggested strongly that teen-age drug and alcohol abuse stems primarily from a deterioration of family life and could not be solved by police or government action.

Instead, he urges parents to reexamine their own alcohol and drug use, the place of organized religion in their homes, and their attitudes toward involving themselves more closely with their children.

"If parents use alcohol as a crutch against social pressures, they should not be surprised to find their children doing the same," he explains.

A positive family experience may be a powerful deterrent to negative peer pressure that often leads to teen-age drug abuse, Mr. Bodensieck adds.

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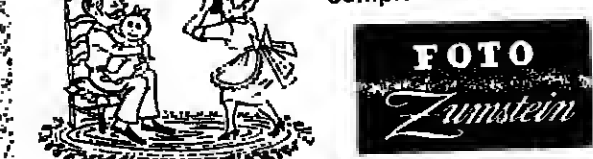
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United States



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Behind maturing winter wheat — a ripening controversy over grain pricing

U.S. dilemma — what to do with all that grain

By Richard J. Cottani
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

While it may be a boon to consumers, the bumper U.S. grain harvest already under way poses a big challenge to:

- U.S. farmers, who are having trouble paying off loans because of depressed prices.

- Grain exporters, who claim the Carter farm program locks any meaningful export-promotion thrust.

- Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland, widely liked personally by farm organization professionals, but increasingly criticized for "bad mouthing" the quality of U.S. grain and for beating the private U.S. exporting system — and thus possibly hurting much-needed sales abroad.

For consumers, of course, the expected huge wheat and corn harvest should help hold food prices down this year to at most a 6 percent rise.

But growers are worried. "In Oklahoma farmers are in real bad shape," says Deputy Secretary of Agriculture John C. White. "Almost 13,000 will have to refinance their loans or dispose of some assets to pay off loans. About one-third can't repay their loans at all with the present farm price situation. At least 3,000 farmers won't be able to get any more money."

In Kansas an all-time record of 300 million bushels of wheat will be gathered by combines this summer. But depressed cash prices of \$1.75 a bushel in

the state last week are way under the \$2.75 to \$4.50 Kansas State University says it costs to grow the grain.

To date, Secretary of Agriculture Bergland has focused his efforts on the new farm bill, which would set critical grain loan and target price rates. The President has threatened to veto the Senate version, which would cost the Treasury more than the House proposal and would aid foreign underselling of U.S. grain. The House committee version is expected to win full House approval by the July 4 recess. Something close to the House bill is thought likely to prevail in the House-Senate conference and be ready for the President's signature by Congress's August recess.

Most U.S. farm organization leaders think Secretary Bergland is right in trying to keep the loan-rate-linked floor for grain prices low enough to keep U.S. supplies competitive.

But many find him half-hearted or worse in actually promoting exports.

"I'm puzzled," says Barney Saunders, vice-president of Cargill, Inc., a major grain exporter, whose profits come from moving grain from farmer to buyer abroad. "If Bergland tells the buyer our grain quality or our system isn't good, he's going to buy from Australia instead," Mr. Saunders says. "The Secretary should be the spokesman for the U.S. grain system, which is the most efficient in the world."

Michael Hall, president of Great Plains Wheat, Inc., says "Secretary Ber-

land does have a commitment to pursuing U.S. grain exports." Still, in a June 10 newsletter for growers, Mr. Hall took pains to rebut recent complaints about U.S. grain quality and charges that fears about quality led to the falloff in wheat sales.

The huge grain surplus is seen as testing Mr. Bergland's hold on the Agriculture Secretary job.

Mr. Bergland's critics think he has already been pulled up short by the White House for statements about a possible wheat cartel and sugar support — and by the State Department for comments about multinationals during his Japan visit earlier this month. A recent East German agricultural delegation to Washington turned away miffed, reportedly feeling Mr. Bergland's department was not taking them seriously enough.

Long-time Washington farm-policy hands see him as holding out for a while, until the chance for a Minnesota Senate seat comes his way. With his slow start on department staffing and apparent lack of an overall domestic and export-policy thrust, they see few signs of ambition for a long secretarial tenure.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bergland has sought to offset what was generally taken as his negative view of the U.S. grain system. He said in Tokyo June 7: "The performance of the U.S. over the years has demonstrated that it is the world's most dependable supplier of farm commodities in the quantities, kinds, and grades desired."

Alaskan oil: none for thirsty East Coast

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

North Slope oil, beginning its on-schedule flow through the 800-mile trans-Alaska pipeline, is creating hot debate and a host of unsolved problems in Washington.

By October, the pipeline will be carrying twice as much oil — 1.2 million barrels daily — as the United States West Coast can absorb.

Where will that surplus go? Not through pipelines to the U.S. Midwest — because none exist.

There are, says oil expert John Lichtblau, only three short-term solutions: sell the surplus to Japan, ship it by tanker through the Panama Canal to U.S. Gulf ports, or cut off the 350,000-barrels-a-day flow which California now gets from the U.S. Navy Reserve at Elk Hills, California.

Any one of these solutions, says a White House aide, would make it hard for President Carter to persuade the American people that a shortage exists and that they should burn less fuel.

Thus, he concludes, the flow of Alaskan oil "may send a wrong signal to the American people."

Most experts, including, reportedly, top White House energy advisers James R. Schlesinger and John O'Leary, favor — on economic grounds — the sale of surplus Alaskan crude to Japan.

Such exports would save the United States money, offsetting at least a bit, the more than \$40 billion which the nation will pay for imported oil this year.

But congressional sentiment against the sale of North Slope oil to Japan is strong. Either House can veto within 60 days a presidential finding that the export of Alaskan crude would serve U.S. national interests.

Tankers could be loaded up at Valdez in the Gulf of Alaska and the surplus transported through the Panama Canal to U.S. Gulf ports.

But, experts say, there may not be enough tankers flying the U.S. flag — and, under the law, all Alaskan crude shipped overseas must be carried in U.S. vessels.

The problem, says Mr. Lichtblau, executive director of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, Inc., is that the U.S. also is beginning to build up a national strategic petroleum reserve — and, again under law, half the oil for that reserve must be carried in U.S.-flag ships.

Japan, said an oil expert bluntly, "does not want Alaskan crude." To take Alaskan oil, Japan would have to reduce imports from its long-term Middle Eastern suppliers, whom the Japanese regard as "secure and reliable," a source said.

If North Slope oil were to be sent to Japan, says Mr. Schlesinger, it "would be a temporary measure, until U.S. pipelines [to the Midwest] exist" and on the understanding "that it would be at [American] disposal in case of emergency."

In view of those restrictions, says Mr. Lichtblau, "you would have to sell [Alaskan] oil at a discount," to persuade the Japanese to buy it.

Over a longer term, several pipeline proposals are under consideration to carry Alaskan oil across the Rockies to the Midwestern U.S. Such pipelines, however (assuming they are built at all), would not be in place for years.

Gas-guzzlers celebrate summer

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Americans are on the verge of breaking another "energy consumption record" — burning more gasoline in their cars than ever before — and the White House doesn't like it one bit.

Billboards are about to sprout across the U.S. urging citizens to "keep off the gas," thus reducing what Federal Energy Administrator John F. O'Leary calls "America's unquenchable thirst for gasoline."

On American TV screens this summer a number of entertainment stars — including Johnny Carson, John Denver, and Pearl Bailey — will plug the virtues of energy savings. In televised spots contributed jointly by the celebrities themselves, network cameras, crews, and local TV stations.

"In the first seven days of July," says James Bishop, aide to White House energy adviser James R. Schlesinger, "the U.S. may burn more oil than during the entire year of 1974."

"From all indications so far," says Mr. O'Leary, "gasoline use this summer will hit a

record-high 7.7 million barrels a day, 8.9 percent above last year's record level."

"I think this summer," President Carter told his news conference June 13, "we'll see the highest use of gasoline in the history of the country" — one reason, among others, why the President sees an energy catastrophe looming down the road.

Last July, U.S. motorists burned more than 7.3 million barrels of gasoline daily. Already consumption this year is creeping close to that point, with the full brunt of summer driving still ahead.

Clearly, soaring gasoline prices have not kept Americans off the road. They are driving more miles than ever, despite a jump in the retail price of a gallon of regular gasoline from 37.2 cents in Jan., 1973, to more than 60 cents today.

Despite all the publicity the energy crisis has received, roughly half the citizenry — according to a recent Gallup poll — do not even realize the U.S. imports oil.

In fact, the United States imports almost half the oil it consumes, at a cost which President Carter says may total \$45 billion this year — almost \$200 for every American man, woman, and child.

Interview: Mondale defends U.S. Mideast policy

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Vice-President Walter F. Mondale strongly denies that the Carter administration intends "to force a plan" of settlement in the Mideast and asserts:

"We are not going to condition our commitment to Israel or our supply of essential security needs on our policy. This [the settlement] is something for the parties to decide by negotiation."

Responding for the first time to criticism of his recent West Coast speech on Mideast policy, both from Jerusalem and from within the U.S. Jewish community, the Vice-President, in an interview with the Monitor, added "we are hopeful" that President Carter's coming meeting with Israel's new Prime Minister Menachem Begin "will be productive."

He indicated the Carter administration has seen new signs to buoy that hope.

Before any territory should be given up by Israel, Mr. Mondale said, a condition should be fulfilled:

"We place a high priority on the proper and comprehensive definition of a peace that would set into play those kinds of people-to-people contacts, trading opportunities, and commercial relationships which, we think, would help to bring about a reduction of tension and a long-term understanding which is really the best guarantee of peace."

"We've indicated," he said, "that that condition should be a condition to give up territories."

Asked what he meant by "minor modifications" when he and the President had said that Israel should return to its pre-1967 borders with "minor modifications," in exchange for peace with its Arab neighbors, Mr. Mondale replied:

"That's for the parties to decide. This is [only] a general suggestion. And we won't go beyond that general suggestion. We don't have

a map, and we're not pretending or trying to impose a settlement."

He emphasized that not only acceptance of boundaries by both sides was essential to a settlement, but there also must be acceptance by the Arabs of "the permanence of Israel."

Defensible borders

To the charge from Jewish circles that the settlement the President has in mind may not contain "defensible borders," the Vice-President said:

"We made it very clear that we think security arrangements should be considered by the parties that would be in addition to the boundaries that are acceptable. In other words, one requirement is not just boundaries, but acceptance of those boundaries."

Mr. Mondale was asked at this point why there were "these persistent fears" coming out of Jerusalem . . . about what you have in mind in the Mideast. He chose to reply in this way:

"Well, let me put it differently. I was very pleased by Senator [Abraham] Ribicoff's response. I was pleased that other senators who participated in that colloquy were very supportive, all of them long-standing friends of Israel, as I am."

"I was pleased by Senator [Hubert H.] Humphrey's comments the other day following his luncheon with the President. And now we are shortly going to have the new Israeli Prime Minister here. And I would hope that now we could sit down and have a meaningful, respectful dialogue with the new leaders."

No new ground

Of his California speech and criticism that it did not offer anything new, Mr. Mondale said:

"Well, it is true, that this was not an effort to plow new ground. But it was an effort to state in one speech comprehensively, in a balanced way what the administration's policies in the Middle East were. We did not indicate that this was a new policy — but it has not been stated this comprehensively before."

Moving into another aspect of foreign affairs now in the spotlight, the Vice-President responded to the question — "Doesn't the stressing of human rights complicate the making of foreign relations?" — in this way:

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John Hughes
Editor and Manager
The Christian Science Monitor

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Breeder reactors

Protest and counter-protest

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
There are 600,000 gallons of highly radioactive waste in a carbon steel tank in a decommissioned plant at West Valley, New York. Part of the waste is plutonium, which President Carter has characterized as "the most dangerous substance known to man."

The private company that helped create the waste, a subsidiary of Getty Oil Company, rejects it; the State of New York, which at one time guaranteed to care for such wastes, rejects it; the federal government rejects it.

The story has not caused many headlines. But consumer advocate Ralph Nader brought to a congressional committee 64 cardboard boxes with 503,588 signatures favoring a nuclear energy reappraisal act. He hints at nationwide protests ahead similar to that staged at Seabrook, New Hampshire, the construction site of a nuclear plant.

The Washington Post carried a front-page story June 15 about frantic lobbying in favor of

the Clinch River breeder reactor which Mr. Carter is trying to mothball.

Under a banner headline June 15, the Washington Star reported that alleged safety flaws in the cooling systems in half of the 67 operating nuclear thermal plants in the U.S. are being currently investigated by engineers of the nuclear regulatory commission.

Commercially operating ("thermal") plants supply 3 percent of America's electricity. While thermal plants generally are regarded as safe by all but anti-nuclear activists, they, too, produce plutonium. Denis Hayes of Worldwatch Institute, a nonprofit educational organization, informed the Monitor that "a standard 1,000-megawatt thermal reactor, operating at full power, produces about 375 pounds of plutonium each year." This would be enough for 50 atomic bombs.

Dr. N. Richard Werthamer, chairman of the N.Y. State Energy Research Authority, testified June 15 before a House subcommittee on the 600,000 gallons of radioactive wastes. When they lose toxicity? he was asked. He said yes they would after 100,000 years.

Americans are on the verge of breaking another "energy consumption record" — burning more gasoline in their cars than ever before — and the White House doesn't like it one bit.

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"From all indications so far," says Mr. O'Leary, "gasoline use this summer will hit a

Middle East

Interview: Mondale defends U.S. Mideast policy

"Well, in one sense it does and in another sense it finally gets foreign relations on the basis that it should be on."

"In other words, if the pursuit of human rights is a complication, maybe it's a long-overdue complication because what should foreign policy be all about?"

"It should be, it seems to me, about the need for stable international institutions and societies, but it also ought to reflect the values of the American people. And it ought to be identified with those kinds of basic human aspirations of people everywhere."

Progress, not confrontation

He continued:

"We're learning better every day how to make our case and to make it in a way that's helpful and promotes progress rather than confrontation. But sure, here are some complexities with it. But there is also a lot of evidence that it's a valuable emphasis."

"On my recent trips through Spain and Portugal, I was told innumerable times that they really appreciated the President's emphasis on human rights. It strengthened them; it strengthened their will for democracy."

Here Mr. Mondale was asked: "What about the SALT talks. Is human rights emphasis a detour from an agreement there?"

"We don't think so," he said. "We don't think it's a problem with [Secretary of State] Cy Vance and his talks with [Andrei] Gromyko and earlier with Mr. [Leonid] Brezhnev."

"In other words, I think the problem with SALT is that we're trying to go into a different generation of agreements that go beyond these policies of simply agreeing to outer limits."

"I consider the Vladivostok agreement, although I supported it, to be a situation in which our country simply took the two lists of everything they planned to do, stapled them together and called it an agreement, a breakthrough."

"Well, what we're trying to do is go beyond, from just putting outer limits on things both countries are planning to do, to a next-generation pact of actually reducing our armaments levels. I mean that will bring real stability. And that's what's taking the time."

Soviets funnel arms through Libya

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tunis
The Soviet Union has begun to use Libya as a staging base for its military supply flights toward Ethiopia and as a testing ground for military hardware, including North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) tanks, according to military and diplomatic sources here.

Some recent Soviet air deliveries of arms to Libya, which has accumulated stockpiles of Soviet aircraft, tanks, artillery and other equipment worth over \$1 billion, have included shipments of arms shipped onward to the Marxist Ethiopian military regime, these sources say.

Tunisian President Bourguiba's government was recently under pressure from Libya over an offshore oil drilling dispute which both sides agreed June 10 to submit to international arbitration. Tunisians are growingly nervous over the Soviet arms buildup in Libya and over the reported presence of Cuban military instructors and tank crews there.

Col. Muammar al-Quaddafi, the Libyan leader, said June 2 that the arms stockpiled in Libya could provide a common arsenal for the Arab states in any new confrontation with Israel, if they first ended their disputes among themselves.

Over 1,000 Soviet tanks, including about 200 late-model T-82s, and several squadrons of MIG 23 fighter-bombers, are among the Soviet military hardware delivered to Libya in the past 18 months. The former U.S. Wheelus air base near Tripoli is a base for several Soviet T-73 Blinder bombers. The same base is used for staging Soviet military transport flights southward toward Ethiopia, it is believed here.

Some 2,000 Soviet personnel and possibly 500 Cuban are now believed to be training Libya's 25,000-man armed forces. West German sources say the Soviets are testing in Libyan deserts the West German

Leopard battle tank, which they have somehow acquired from Western Europe, possibly through Italy. Eight hundred Leopards were provided to Italy by West Germany under NATO agreements, 600 of which were assembled under license by the Italian firm of Oto Melara in La Spezia, Italy.

Western experts suspect — though they are not certain — that one or more of these Leopards may somehow have been diverted from Italy to Libya. The West German federal Parliament has debated the question and West German defense authorities are investigating in collaboration with the Italian Government.

Egypt to buy French reactors

Cairo
President Sadat has said Egypt plans to buy four or five nuclear-power reactors from France, and will install some of them in Sinai, the official Middle East News Agency (MENA) reports.

According to MENA, Mr. Sadat said one of the French reactors would be installed in al-Arish after Israel withdrew from that area of Sinai.

MENA quoted Mr. Sadat as saying in an interview with a Canadian journalist that Egypt had already reached an agreement with the Westinghouse Electric Corporation under which Westinghouse would build two reactors for desalinating water as well as generating power.

In November, 1975, during a visit to Washington by Mr. Sadat, Egypt and the United States initiated an agreement allowing the Egyptians to purchase the two reactors at a cost of \$1.2 billion.

Middle East

Israel's Begin: can he win in America?

By Geoffrey Godsell

Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The installation of the new hard-line Israeli government brings one step nearer the face-to-face meeting between Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Carter in Washington — now planned for mid-July.

The big question is: Will there be a confrontation between Mr. Begin and Mr. Carter over the latter's emerging blueprint for an overall settlement between Israel and the Arabs?

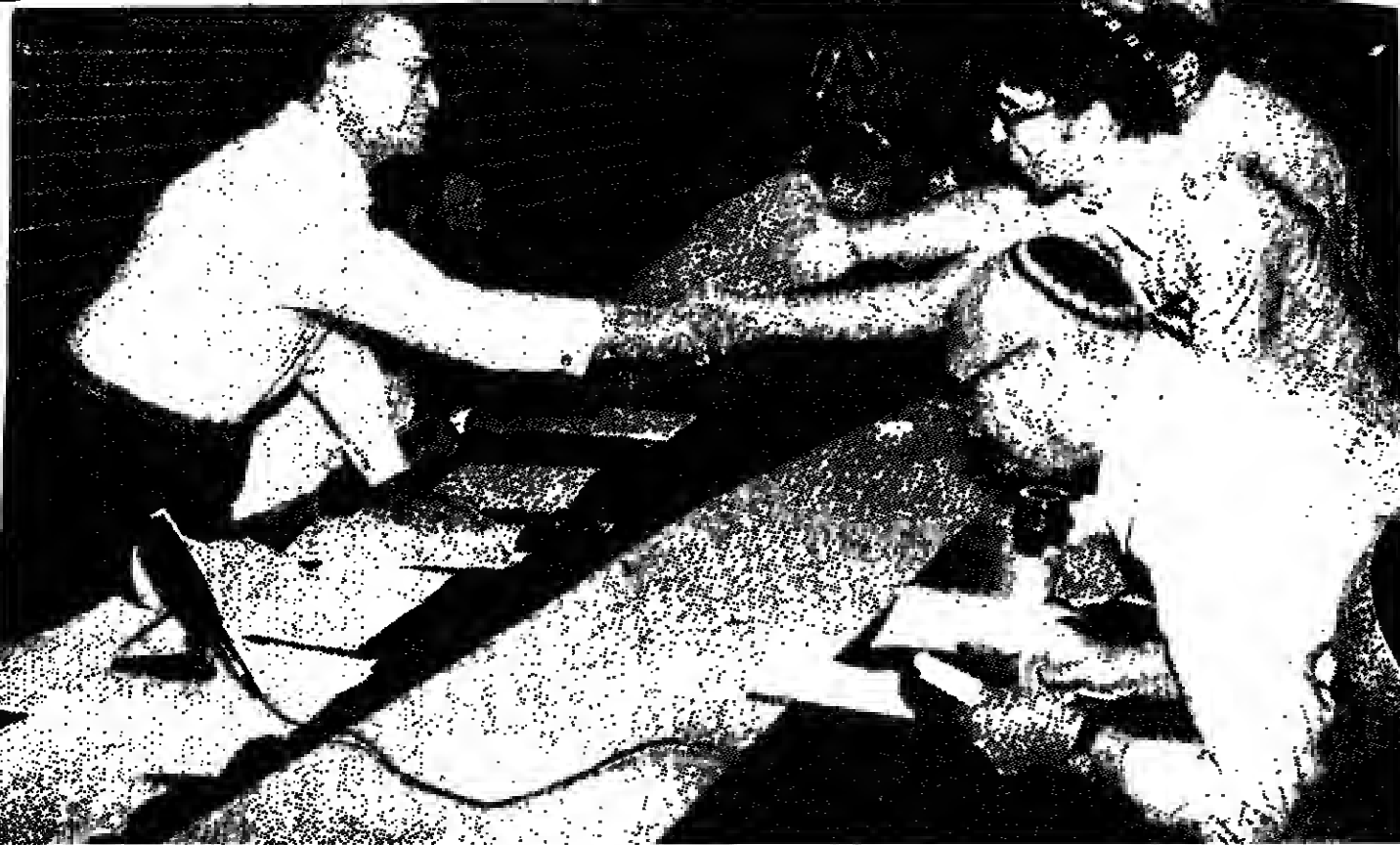
Everything points to the U.S. administration's wanting to avoid just that. The United States recognizes that quiet and skillful diplomacy is more likely to produce compromise than is an American ultimatum. And Israelis of most persuasions have long made clear their aversion to any imposed settlement of their dispute with the Arabs — imposed either by the U.S. alone or jointly by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Begin did not get anywhere near a majority — merely a plurality — in last month's surprise election upset in Israel which brought him to power after more than a quarter of a century in opposition. But he can probably count on overwhelming support at home for any line he takes in defending Israel's interests (as he sees them) in his meeting with President Carter.

In the days and weeks immediately ahead, Mr. Begin can be expected to be waging his main foreign policy battle in the arena of American public opinion. Since winning the election he has been remarkably successful in rallying behind him declarations of support from Jewish American opinion. And in persuading Moshe Dayan to defect from the Israeli Labor Party and serve as his Foreign Minister, Mr. Begin has made a brilliant move, at least in international terms. Mr. Dayan probably has more appeal to American and other Western opinion than any other Israeli political figure except former Prime Minister Golda Meir.

In addition to this, Mr. Begin has had an effective personal emissary in the U.S. since his election victory: Shmuel Katz. Further, the new Prime Minister has been effective and persuasive with such leading pro-Israel American visitors to Israel as Rabbi Alexander Schneider (chairman of combined American Jewish organizations) and Sen. Richard Stone (D) of Florida.

The aim of all these efforts has been to establish for Mr. Begin an image that is more flexible and more eager for compromise with the Arabs than he had just before his election. This, of course, has to be put to the test. Significantly, one of President Carter's earliest remarks after Mr. Begin's surprise victory was to the effect that he hoped Jewish Americans might moderate the policies of a Begin Cabinet. (In the past, Mr. Begin has been inflexible about Israel's right to Judea and Sa-



Begin and Religious Party leaders sign agreement

Begin achieves coalition at home, looks for support from Washington

maria, i.e., the West Bank of the Jordan, from which Mr. Carter presumably expects Israel to withdraw.)

Mr. Carter will have to act with great sensitivity if he wants to keep Jewish Americans on his side. His reference to their possible moderating influence on Mr. Begin produced this observation from a Jerusalem Post correspondent in Washington:

"What worried Jewish leaders here was the fact that Carter was apparently seeking to create a split between Israel's elected leadership and American Jewry — a split that could be used to weaken Israel's negotiating position."

For his part, President Carter has called upon Vice-President Walter Mondale, a long-time supporter of Israel and trusted by most Jewish Americans more than is Mr. Carter himself, to make the latest public statement on U.S. policy in the Middle East (in San Francisco June 17). Press reports coming back from Israel say the reaction there is that Mr. Mondale's speech contained nothing new. The inference is that the speech did nothing to allay Israeli worry and concern, regardless of party loyalty, about what Mr. Carter intends.

Indeed, a case could be made that Mr. Mondale did not break any new ground. He repeated the three basic elements cited earlier by Mr. Carter as essential in any overall settlement: an Arab guarantee of genuine peace and security for Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal to its 1967 borders (with minor modifications) and a homeland for the Palestinians.

But there was in the Mondale speech marked emphasis on American "determination to maintain the military security of Israel."

The same point was made by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in an ABC television interview June 19.

This suggests a continuing and considered

U.S. effort to reassure Israel about an American commitment to Israel's security and safety. The biggest obstacle to Israel's making concessions is the fear of virtually all Israelis that unwelcome concessions may be synonymous with suicide. In this fear the Carter administration is apparently addressing itself.

Anti-Israel boycott

Arabs seek loopholes in U.S. law

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

A conference on the Arab boycott of Israel at Alexandria, Egypt, June 8 to 20, has issued fresh orders to deal with the new United States federal law outlawing compliance of American firms with the boycott.

These include creation of a secret five-member committee to study the legislation after the signature by President Carter to identify loopholes through which major U.S. firms doing business in the Arab world can continue to operate, according to business sources here.

U.S. firms were among 13 newly blacklisted for dealing with Israel and also among 10 deleted from the list.

Boycott commissioner-general Muhammad Mahgoub said those deleted would not be an-

nounced "in protect them against the new American legislation" penalizing them for cooperating.

General Motors, Westinghouse, and the Bank of America were among 47 firms to which earlier warnings were canceled, after producing proof of no dealings with Israel, Mr. Mahgoub said, according to a Reuters dispatch from Alexandria.

Mr. Mahgoub said newly blacklisted U.S. firms would not be disclosed "because we want to play on their nerves and have the upper hand if we ever negotiate with them."

Britain's Barclays Bank was removed from the blacklist. Warnings issued to General Electric of Britain and the British firm of Humphreys and Glasgow, Ltd., were canceled. The Ted Lapidus clothing firm of France was also removed from the blacklist.

Mr. Mahgoub said the conference adopted resolutions imposing an embargo on exports of unspecified "Arab raw materials" to U.S. firms flouting the boycott. He did not explain this, except to say "agricultural raw materials are not involved," nor did he mention oil, natural gas, or other materials.

Saudi Arabia "might" have to reduce imports from the U.S. "at a time when they are increasing oil imports from Arab countries," a news agency quoted a Saudi spokesman in Alexandria as saying earlier.

It was largely on Iraq's insistence the boycott conference discussed how to counter the new legislation, conference sources said. Iraq and South Yemen are the only Arab states known to still insist on the "negative certificate of origin" — a statement made under oath that goods or services have nothing to do with Israel.

Since early this year Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Arab states have accepted a certificate simply stating where goods and services came from.

More than 100 firms, including the Ford Motor Corporation of the U.S. and British Steel, and Metal Box Corporation had applied to the boycott office to end their blacklisting.

'West Bank belongs to us,' say Israeli leaders

By David Aaslie
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
Shmuel Katz, the personal representative of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, makes unmistakably clear the victorious Likud party's firm position on the West Bank territory and on settling Jews there.

"We say the West Bank belongs to us," said Mr. Katz flatly in an interview here.

"The whole of western Palestine, including the so-called West Bank, is part of our patrimony," he goes on. "And if we give up any of it under the terms of a peace treaty we shall be doing so as a concession."

Mr. Katz vigorously rebuts the official American view that establishing new Jewish settlements in the West Bank damages the options for peace talks. Quite the reverse, he says.

Nor does Mr. Katz anticipate that such set-

tlements would be removed should a peace treaty be reached.

"Why should we?" he asks. "Are we talking of place? Or the perpetuation of hostility? Why should it be impossible for Jews to live under an Arab government even as Arabs now are living under an Israeli government?"

Mr. Katz, who is a long-time friend of Mr. Begin, has been quietly explaining the principles of Likud policies to influential figures in Congress and the administration.

What he declines to do is to debate Likud's detailed positions. Rather, he says, the first step must be direct negotiations with the Arabs. Such talks, however, would not include the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

"The PLO will not be recognized in any circumstances as a partner to the negotiations," Mr. Katz says. "It is a false political ally."

Mr. Katz also denies the charge of

government in Israel to Israel's perception of a new element in relations with the United States. In an interview during a visit to Boston, Mr. Bar-Ilan said that despite traditional American goodwill, U.S. political moves can no longer be trusted because of U.S. dependence on Arab oil.

"The people of Israel felt threatened," he said, "by what they felt to be a change in tone in the American administration — that there might be a danger to the very existence of the country through untoward concessions made not by Israel, but by the American administration in their behalf."

"They felt, and I think rightly so, that the person who might best be able to withstand this sort of pressure would be Mr. Begin. And that was why he was brought into power."

Nevertheless, Mr. Bar-Ilan strongly denies that Mr. Begin will be intransigent in his dealings with the Arabs.

from page 1

*Hope for the world's hungry

learn from their [farmers'] experience," the report says.

Addressing U.S. "decisionmakers," the report calls for several government changes, such as more coordination of food policies between the White House and Agriculture Department. It asks for increased funding, now totaling about \$700 million, for domestic and international research into nutrition and the social impacts of hunger and its solutions.

The \$1.2 million study comes as the following actions are being taken:

• Congress is in the midst of revising America's food aid program, called PL 480, and also deciding funds for international development programs for the next two years.

An April analysis from the U.S. General Accounting Office suggests the national focus is changing from an agricultural policy reflecting an age of surplus and narrow farming interests to a food policy encompassing U.S. consumers and world nutrition.

• Bob Bergland, President Carter's Agriculture Secretary, who is just finishing a world tour, wants the International Wheat Council, which begins meetings June 27 in London, to start building nationally held food reserves in case of a world shortfall and to lessen Amer-

ica's job of being the "world's grain elevator." Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's worldwide negotiations on human rights include a "right to be free from hunger."

World hunger affects U.S. dinner-tables

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

The National Academy of Sciences has given the United States a stark warning: Join with the "hungry" nations to develop an agriculture that can feed the world's people, or face serious food problems at home within the next few decades.

The academy study appears at a time when the U.S. is looking for more meaningful ways to combat hunger than just giving away food or trying to export techniques of energy-intensive farming, says James T. Grant, a member of the steering committee for the study.

After two decades of letting its agricultural research languish, the United States needs to revitalize it along lines that will produce new

crops, sharing this work with developing lands and profiting from research done abroad. The academy study, Mr. Grant adds, contains a wealth of detailed suggestions on the kinds of research worth pursuing.

In short, the study warns that the challenge of world hunger translates into a domestic challenge for the U.S. that is as serious end as fundamental as the energy shortage.

This is the context in which to view the report, says Mr. Grant, also president of the Overseas Development Council. Commissioned by former President Ford as a follow-up to the 1974 World Food Conference, the study should also be seen against the background of President Carter's foreign policy, Mr. Grant notes.

In his unprecedented, special inaugural address to foreign countries, broadcast overseas last January, Mr. Carter not only pledged to work with other nations to tackle such basic problems as poverty and hunger, but was the first U.S. president to call freedom from hunger a basic human right. Since the address, American diplomats have been reinforcing this message.

The academy study, which reflects the specialties of some 1,500 experts, smashes several stereotypes that have clouded American per-

ceptions of the world food situation. Among the findings of the study:

• The vaunted productivity of U.S. agriculture is faltering. Yields per acre of major crops are no longer increasing. Indeed, they are below levels of three years ago.

• The energy-intensive farming of Western nations, with its emphasis on chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and heavy irrigation, not only is unsuitable for developing nations but is no longer appropriate for industrial countries either. In the United States, it not only shows diminishing returns, but is feeding inflation as strongly as is the high price of oil.

• The new breadbaskets of the world over the next 25 years are in the developing countries. They are the ones with the greatest capacity to increase food production at current prices, if they can lick the organizational problems that stand in their way.

• The kind of research needed to boost food production in developing countries is the same as that which the U.S. needs to meet its own increasing food needs. This is research that emphasizes biological productivity — boosting food yields by developing crops that do not depend heavily on fertilizers, pesticides, or intensive irrigation.

*New title doesn't dazzle French

alliance is a policy "which no French political party currently seeks to modify."

Until recently Mr. Giscard d'Estaing could not have made that statement. The French Communist Party had long campaigned against the Atlantic alliance. But of late the French Communists have followed the lead taken earlier by the Italians and announced that they now think France should remain in the Atlantic alliance.

not a special friend of the Soviet Union in the heart of Western Europe. On the contrary, France is just as grown up as anyone else in its ability to recognize that the Soviet Union is a dictatorship which treats political dissidents in a manner which offends civilized peoples.

Commentary

Invitation rejected

During the formal talks Mr. Brezhnev, in effect, invited Mr. Giscard d'Estaing to join him in criticizing President Carter of the United States for allegedly interfering improperly in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. But the French President took the opposite tack and joined Mr. Carter in speaking up for human rights, and the right of others to criticize the Soviets for their lapses.

Thus the three-day Brezhnev visit in Paris underlined the fact that France is no neutral between Moscow and Washington and certainly

So Mr. Brezhnev had to return to Moscow without having heard the applause of French crowds along the boulevards and without having persuaded the French Government to put more distance between itself and Washington. On the contrary, the French stance is now more nearly in line with Washington than of any time since 1960 when Charles de Gaulle took French armed forces out of the military organization under NATO.

More NATO cooperation

French armed forces are still under their own independent command. But there has been

a steady, though quiet, increase in voluntary cooperation with other NATO forces. This tendency is of course precisely what Mr. Brezhnev would have liked to see reversed. It was what Mr. Giscard d'Estaing firmly refused to promise. In fact, he asserted that France reserved the right to use its armed forces outside of France. This means that it reserves the right to act in cooperation with NATO forces in the event of any military threat to the NATO area.

There is a touch of pathos in the picture of Leonid I. Brezhnev heading back to Moscow with nothing to show from his French visit. Here he is, at the apex of his long career. He is a hero of the Soviet Union, the genuine leader of his people, just crowned with the highest title and honor they can bestow upon him. Obviously, he would have loved to add a diplomatic success in Paris to his honors and been able to say that at least the French understood the position of the Soviet Union.

But there was no success in Paris. And there has been no success in the foreign field for a

long time. He has tried to mend his relations with the Chinese and failed. There are still more Soviet soldiers deployed along the Chinese-Soviet frontier than there are facing the NATO front. The last apparent success of Soviet foreign affairs was the victory by the faction they had backed in the Angolan civil war. But reports now placed together about recent events there made it clear that the pro-Moscow faction in Angola was very nearly unseated in a coup d'etat — and could be unseated any time. The Angola story is not finished.

And while Soviet diplomacy now has the inside track in Ethiopia, which had long been an American client, the Soviets risk losing their own long-time favored position in Somalia. Somalia would be worth more to Washington than Ethiopia in its present state of potential disintegration.

In world affairs Mr. Brezhnev has much to wish for and little to boast about. His country is not popular right now.

*The not-fading-into-the-sun set

Christian monasticism — still ecta as if the sun were a cosmic purifier that will dry up the mischievous juices, flagellate the skin, leave him as shriveled as a raisin. The secret passion of the Anthony is to be consumed, to become their own burnt offering and thus be purged and saved.

If the Anthonys have a touch of the masochist to them, the Icarus story o' touch of the playboy. Icarus, one of the golden boys of Greek mythology, mounted wings on his shoulders

and flew toward the sun rather as if it were the Riviera. Icarus was ever after regarded the sun as the ultimate source of all carelessly warm pleasures; and what they want to do is plug into it.

What a bad end sun-worshippers can come to! Anthony wound up hallucinating all the cool moist delights he was trying to bake out of his head.

Back to the old hair shirt.

Icarus flew too close to the sun and melted

the wax that attached his wings to his shoulders.

Back to the old drawing board.

What can we say? "Moderation in everything." But the sun itself is not moderate and seems to demand no moderation in others. There is a devouring, Aztec quality to the personality of the sun.

Perhaps for this reason the Greeks made the god of the sun, Apollo, the coolest of the gods: a musician, a healer, a careful, law-abiding

driver of chariots — a nice young man as Olympians went.

What a paradox that the god of the sun should also be the god of reason:

There's an old saying that nobody looks at the sun but everybody looks at eclipse. The sun is for mirrors. One peeps at the sun out of the corners of dark glasses. One feels it cautiously, through a filter of creams and sunglasses.

The sun is the one natural element we cannot take undiluted. We live with the fearful knowledge that the warmth which makes all things grow can end up scorching the earth.

And so even the sun-worshippers are driven finally into the nearest shade by that flagrant, wax-melting blaze. At such moments life reduces itself to oasis vs. desert — no contest!

Yet for all its power the sun is finiteness pretending to be infinity, as the astrophysicists keep reminding us. And this impression of inexhaustible energy only leaves a final pathos. Like his forebears at Stonehenge and Easter Island, the sun-worshiper 1977 is merely gambling on the surest gamble of the material universe — that the sun will rise again.

But it is still a gamble, no matter how many times the water is won, and in his heart of hearts the sun-worshiper knows that Blake is profoundly right: "The Sun and Moon should doubt 'they'd immediately go out.' This is what makes sense; and the coming of autumn such testing times. For now it is June, July, and August, and may the sun-worshiper make his own kind of hay one more time while the sun shines."

*China and West elbow Soviets in Africa

Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana. Mozambique has so far been more involved than the others in black guerrilla activity against the white regime in Rhodesia, and the Rhodesians have retaliated by cross-border raids into Mozambique. After the most recent Mozambique-President Machel called for an immediate UN Security Council meeting, Asian guerrilla forces committed the U.S. and Britain supported the "call" Security Council "renewed" on Mozambique's appeal scheduled for June 21 were postponed at the last minute until later in the week.

At the Commonwealth conference in London earlier this month, British Prime Minister James Callaghan was able to win the support of African Commonwealth members against the "unacceptable" — for Anglo-U.S. policy — Rhodesian demand of both the U.S. and Britain governments the trading of a very

tricky line. Rhodesian whites see the policy as support for the guerrillas and for the more radical line proclaimed (if not always followed) by Mozambique President Machel. This led to the whites see the Anglo-U.S. effort as an invitation to them to agree to their own elimination.

The British and U.S. Governments are reluctant to insist on an immediate cessation of guerrilla activities because earlier exploration guerrilla activities led to African nationalists in that direction led to African nationalists five years before getting anything in return. But the U.S. and British Governments do not want the guerrillas — whose policy of security has the support of a majority of black Rhodesians — to sweep all before them regardless of other (and numerous) nationalities.

The Rhodesian raids on guerrilla positions inside Mozambique apply a brake to any momentum which the guerrillas might be gaining. But ironically the U.S. and British Governments feel obliged to condemn the raids on the grounds that failure to do so might impugn Western good faith and hasten the day when President Machel, the other front-line president, and the guerrillas feel they have no alternative but to turn wholeheartedly to the Soviet Union or Cuba.

For the same reason, Western powers led by the U.S. and Britain are giving qualified support to the most militant of the nationalist movements in Namibia (South-West Africa), the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). This is upsetting to South Africa, the administrator of Namibia. But the alternative is the West's less likely to abandon SWAPO and ally to the Rhodesians and Cubans.

The children of Guapira

For young people from a Brazilian village traditional values have little meaning in a city slum

By Richard Critchfield
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Salvador, Brazil
The greatest problem in the poor two-thirds of the world may no longer be finding enough food, jobs, and shelter.

Rather it could be a cultural breakdown. A generation of urban immigrants is finding that traditional village values have no place in anonymous, atom-ridden, industrial cities.

Here in Salvador (pop. 1.3 million), colonial Brazil's capital from the 16th to 18th century and an Atlantic seaport of lost sugar wealth and present poverty, the issue emerges starkly. In the past five years, massive migrations of villagers from surrounding Bahia State have given Salvador a 7 percent yearly growth rate and led to a decline in the rural population.

Most migrants from the villages find menial jobs and manage to survive or even prosper a little on wages anywhere from \$40 to \$200 a month. What they do not find is anything to replace the old agricultural moral code.

Recently Dom Avelar Brandão Vilela, the Cardinal of Salvador, denounced what he called the "bombardment and violence against the Brazilian family and its values." For this the Cardinal blamed northeast Brazil's impoverished economy, the social indifference of its middle and upper classes, and moral confusion among the village migrants themselves.

"Our people have an inexhaustible patience; in their suffering, they somehow endure," he said. "But we cannot abuse this strength. It should not be permitted."

What happens to young villagers when they leave the authority and unity of the village and family to seek work in the mod-

ernized cities as individuals, individually paid, in factories or service industries designed not for them but to serve urban society at large?

Recently this reporter surveyed a dozen or so of the Salvador migrants from Guapira village 100 miles away and found all of them expecting a good deal of cultural confusion.

In Guapira and similar settled agricultural villages, sons and daughters become self-reliant by performing useful chores from earliest childhood. Children of age 6 or 7 help till fields and mill manioc, the main crop, into flour. A boy of 15 is as prepared as a man of 40 to earn a livelihood plowing, sowing, and harvesting.

Marriage comes early. Chastity, early marriage, divorceless monogamy (true not only of Roman Catholic Brazil but also of most Hindu, Muslim, and Buddhist rural societies), and multiple maternity, along with religion and local superstitions, form an agricultural moral code that is nearly universal in the third world.

Salvador's upper 20 percent, partly prospering from new government-aided, capital-intensive industry but mostly wealthy from sugar and cacao plantations, pursue North American life-styles, and the coastal stretch of the city resembles a sort of mini-Miami Beach.

Such life-styles are unattainable, and probably always will be, to most of the other 80 percent, who exist in "favelas" or shantytowns, which extend, like tungus, inland into the surrounding hills.

Marriages are delayed

Guapira's children find their capacity to feed and support a family in Salvador will come much later, probably not until their late 20s or early 30s. Marriages are delayed. Premarital chastity grows harder to maintain.

The authority of father and mother back in the village has lost its economic base. Guapira's children are no longer constrained by the surveillance of the village; sins can be hidden in the protective anonymity of the crowd.

Some of the young villagers pride themselves on a shallow, urban sophistication with a cynical, materialistic philosophy; money becomes the prime value.

At home in Guapira, both the church and folk superstition (planting is governed by the moon, crops are said to have hu-

manlike sensitivities) still govern daily life.

The elderly may be abandoned by their families, but mud-and-wattle huts, and subsist on manioc flour and else, but religion confers meaning and dignity to their lives. Guapira has no crime. It is on the rise in Salvador.

In the city Guapira's children face the replacement of ill with secular institutions. It is the rich man or high government official who counts, rarely the clergyman. At school (all go, to retake their primary education because village school was so primitive) and in the newspaper, are made aware of man's tiny place in the universe, but possess the technology to blow up the earth or journey to the moon.

Faith and certainties absent

Holy days become holidays: Salvador's beaches are open on Sunday, its churches are half empty. Violent movies, Kung Fu type and spaghetti westerns set cultural standards of violent behavior. A thousand signs tell Guapira's children the faith and certainties of their parents are nowhere to be found in the city.

In his 10 years in Salvador, Antônio, 27, has risen from laborer to servant to watchman to a \$300-a-month job as a tutor for a government ministry. He has saved enough to buy a lot of land in an outlying favela and has planted bananas, pineapples, and a vegetable garden. He hopes, after three more years, to complete high school at night, build a new house, and marry to Nana, a girl from Guapira. Typical of migrants, he wants no more than one or two children, and he is determined to educate them.

Antônio's chief concern is his loss of religious faith; he taken to reading the Bible. His mother back in the village shocked that one of her sons defends private judgment tells the neighbors, "Antônio believes that the most important thing is the God in the heavens."

Antônio is deeply confused. During the pre-Lenten dance he used to dance in the streets as did all Guapira's children, losing himself in the heavy, insistent dance of the very Salvador samba.

Sometimes the drums would beat faster and faster as if thunder were rising from the pavement. Tens of thousands of dancers who thronged the streets

would loose, all of them twisting and turning and moving their feet and legs with such violent rhythm that it seemed they would fly to pieces.

At such a crowd, Antônio had seen a man trampled when he lost his balance and fell. No one in the frenzied mob stopped, or could stop. After that, Antônio no longer took part in Carnival.

And Carlos, his younger brother, has done even better in Salvador. He is chef de bar in a luxury beach hotel for international tourists. When guests ask him if he likes his work, he answers, "I wanted to be a civil engineer, but it cost too much money."

He is ashamed to tell them that at 23 he has just entered the first grade. Or that each Saturday in the public market he performs "capoeira," an African fighting dance, with a gang of street toughs who shake down tourists who try to photograph them. To José Carlos the rich long ago became advantageous to exploit, just as they exploit the poor.

A karate expert, he joined the Apaches in Carnival. This group of some 5,000 poor young blacks from the villages was chased from the streets the last day of Carnival after scuffling and skirmishes with the police. José Carlos and his friends simply refused to go home; troops were called out and 125 lashes were thrown in jail.

Olympia, 17, was too alarmed by Carnival to take part. "It's too much," she says. "People drank too much. Big fights. You could get hurt." Like most Guapira girls in Salvador, Olympia works as a housemaid, earning her keep and \$20 a month. She never goes out at night without the company of her girls.

For all its dangers she finds life in Salvador superior to what she would find in Guapira. "There's more things to do here, more people to see. I don't want to work in the fields all my life."

Guapira's girls, working in the homes of the rich and middle class, live much better than the boys, who may share a cubicle in some favela or sleep on the construction sites where they work.

She had a baby and lost her job as a maid five years ago, Carolina, now 28, has survived by living with a series of men and taking in laundry in Pau Miúdo, one of Salvador's poorest slums. When Jorge, a dockworker, abandoned her, she lived in with a woman friend. "We eat," she wrote her mother in Guapira, "but only with the help of the neighbors."

She has two children now and is unable to earn more than \$10 a month washing. Carolina's biggest problem has been to find shelter. Recently she joined a mob of some 1,500 people from Pau Miúdo who attempted to seize some empty government land near a new low-income housing project.

The squatters' army advanced onto the land, tearing down fences and marking off plots for each family.

At first the police made no attempt to stop them. Carolina was able to build an improvised shack and bring her few possessions: a bare, broken mattress, a box covered with earthenware dishes, a pile of rags, and the means to make a fire to dry the laundry she took in.

A day later troops arrived. As nearly 300 families watched, the soldiers began tearing down their homes.

A neighbor rushed to tell Carolina, sobbing, "I've got eight children, but only two can go to school because I don't have money. I had to pay 200 cruzeiros [about \$20] in Pau Miúdo to be on this small room. They can't take away this chance, they're using this land."

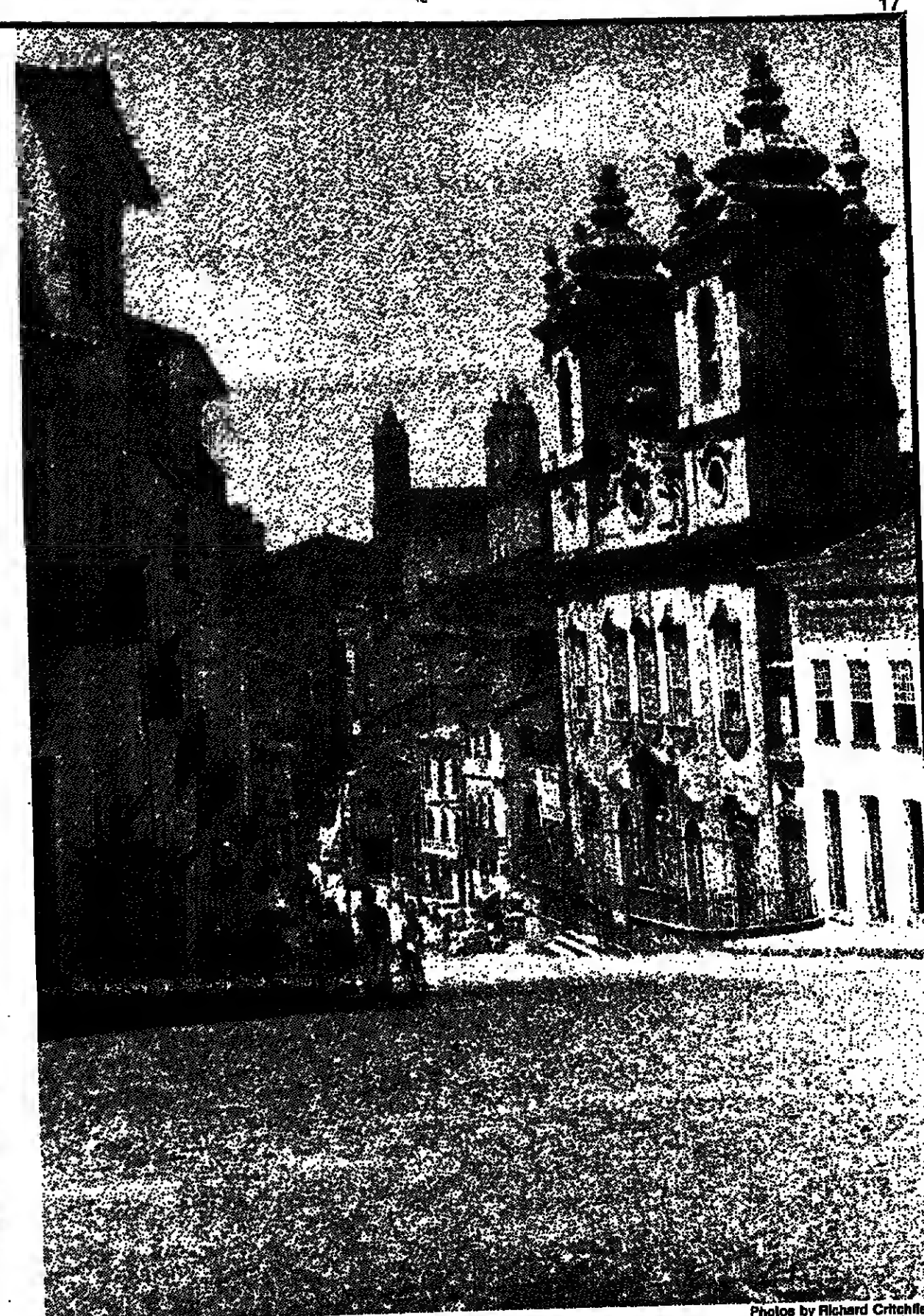
Then a young soldier appeared in Carolina's doorway. "It's better you leave now, senhora," he said, "as we are going to tear down everything."

In villages like Guapira the family is the unit of agricultural production, under the discipline of the father and the seasons. External authority has a firm economic basis. Industry and work are more profitable than bravery and violence. Children are economic assets.

But the old agricultural moral code breaks down when young men and women from the villages enter the new urban industrial-technological order. The coming generation, the migrant children who are born and raised in the city slums, are likely to have no cultural moorings at all.

Richard Critchfield, a freelance writer, has spent the last few years in third world countries, studying and reporting on the rural poor.

Salvador and Salvador's beaches crowded and churches half empty.



Photos by Richard Critchfield

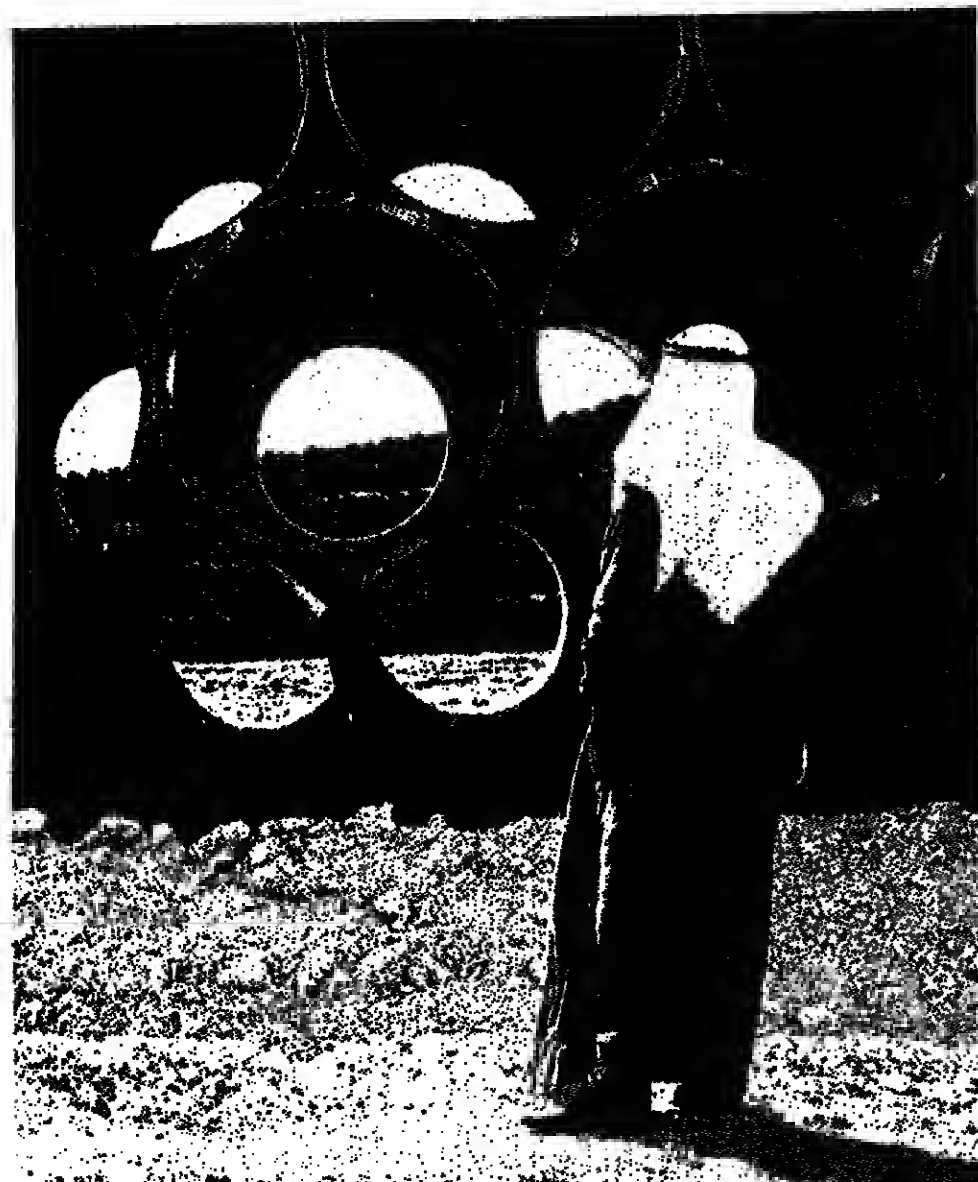
Above: Life in Old Salvador becomes a moral challenge to many rural youths

Below: Guapira's younger children: will they be drawn to Salvador?



financial

U.S. depends more and more on Arab oil



Near Ohayran, Saudi Arabia

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Arab view: more pipes for more oil to U.S.

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Fresh figures show how rapidly the United States is shifting to Arab and other OPEC sources for oil, exposing Americans to possible economic disruption in the event of a future embargo.

Experts see three reasons why U.S. dependence on Arab oil — principally from Saudi Arabia — will continue to grow:

• The U.S. petroleum appetite steadily grows, while domestic oil production shrinks. Imports in the first quarter of 1977, said a federal energy official, averaged 9.2 million barrels daily — nearly 50 percent of total consumption.

• Canada, the No. 1 supplier to the U.S. in the 1960s, shipped only 550,000 barrels daily in the first quarter of this year, down sharply from the 1.3 million barrels daily of 1973. Under present policy, Canadian oil exports to the U.S. will cease by 1980.

• Other non-Arab suppliers, like Venezuela and Nigeria, are operating at top capacity or already have begun to reduce their shipments to the United States.

Venezuela, for example, sends 38 percent less oil than it did in 1973. Nigeria, whose "light sweet crude," said a U.S. official, "is particularly suited to our needs," cannot expand beyond the 1.3 million barrels daily now being shipped.

Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, and Venezuela, all members of the 13-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), now are the top three suppliers of foreign oil to Americans. Each sends more than 1 million barrels daily, with the Saudis having furnished an average of 1.5 million barrels during the first quarter of 1977.

Ironically, Washington looks to Saudi Arabia to furnish at least part of the oil for the planned U.S. strategic petroleum reserve, designed to cushion the effects of any future oil embargo.

No such reserve now exists. By the end of 1978, the White House hopes to have 250 million barrels of crude stored in salt dome caverns

along the U.S. Gulf Coast. The ultimate goal is a billion barrels by 1985.

Where possible, the U.S. Government will buy domestic American oil for salt dome storage. Some foreign crude, however, may be bought, with Saudi oil a likely prospect.

Of the 9.2 million barrels imported daily in the first three months of this year, 7.3 million, says the Federal Energy Administration (FEA), came from OPEC members.

Arab members of OPEC supplied 3.4 million barrels daily of this total. Shipments from Arab producers, the FEA says, have doubled in the four years since the Arabs, after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, closed their wells to the United States for several months.

In all respects, experts agree, the oil import picture worsens for the U.S. and is likely to continue to darken until the early or mid-1980s.

As of today, Americans are steadily importing more oil; oil costs are up — to an estimated \$41 billion this year; OPEC prices almost certainly will rise again; and an increasing share of imported crude comes from Arab wells.

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Gas — enough and to spare in Canada

By Tom Kennedy
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Calgary, Alberta
Western Canada's natural gas producers today have an unexpected problem — a "bubble" of surplus gas. It may even result in a temporary increase in gas exports to the United States.

Virtually everyone, from producers to consumers, all levels of government, and of course energy policy critics, have been busy estimating Canada's long-term natural gas demand-and-supply situation. For the moment, some producers of new natural gas are unable to find buyers in the glutted market.

Annual growth in consumption has slowed to 2 or 3 percent, compared with the galloping 15 to 18 percent gain in demand recorded in the early 1970s.

Recently, gas producers have been informed by the largest purchaser of western Canadian gas — TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. — that they will not be offered contracts with provisions for immediate delivery opportunities until late in 1979.

The Alberta government is worried that the glut of gas will act as a brake on the current high-gear exploratory effort. This would lead to a drop in important provincial revenues from assorted petroleum industry sources that this year may amount to as much as \$2.5 billion.

Alberta provides some 80 percent of Canada's present annual production of 2.5 b.c.f. of gas. The western Canadian province also holds some 55 of the nation's 75 b.c.f. of proved gas reserves.

According to the gloomy scenario painted by the seers earlier this decade, Canada's seemingly large gas reserves were "soon to melt away," depleting at an accelerated rate, as indigenous gas supplies increasingly substituted for other energy fuels, especially coal. But shown signs of an acute imbalance in pro-

jected availability and medium- to long-term domestic requirements.

But Canada, perhaps to a greater extent than most of the other developed countries, did experience some beneficial side effects from the worldwide upheaval in energy prices.

For example, Alberta's extensive known reserves of "shallow" gas had been mostly unprofitable to produce at the former low price, because of a slow deliverability factor. These suddenly became financially attractive.

Horde of small and medium-size operators scrambled for prospective acreage and drilling rigs. The drive was so vehement that within two years they have managed to transform western Canada's leisurely-paced petroleum industry into a fast-moving vehicle that is still accelerating as it roams far and wide in the search of new gas prospects.

In this unprecedented surge in exploration, operators bid up land prices to dizzy heights and created a shortage of professional personnel and a scarcity of drilling rigs and other industry hardware. Producers also found a lot of new gas, mainly within Alberta.

Some estimates put the shallow gas reserves that have come "within economic reach" since 1974 by virtue of higher prices at about 10 trillion cubic feet.

Meanwhile, the major industry operators, most of them local subsidiaries of U.S. multinational oil companies, went after the more complex and much more expensive "deep" gas plays beneath the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The so-called foothills belt of Alberta last year reportedly yielded at least five b.c.f. of sulfur dioxide-contaminated gas supplies, which have to be "scrubbed" in processing plants. The foothills belt is regarded as a prolific source of gas supplies whose potential has hardly been scratched to date.

Given the continuing high rate of discovery and a less than historic rate of growth of consumption in the domestic market, Canada might well be in the position to permit a temporary increase of 200 to 300 billion cubic feet of gas per year above the current annual export volume of 1 trillion cubic feet of western Canadian fuel sold to U.S. Great Lakes region and West Coast consumers.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (C) — commercial rate.

	U.S.	British	French	German	Italian	Japanese	Swiss	Belgian	Dutch
Dollar	1.00	2.93	6.55	3.36	2.00	360.00	2.00	36.36	2.36
Pound	0.34	1.00	2.48	1.25	0.75	127.00	0.75	12.70	0.83
Mark	0.48	0.40	1.00	0.50	0.30	540.00	0.50	54.00	3.36
Franc	0.15	0.13	0.40	0.20	0.12	900.00	0.20	180.00	11.11
Yen	0.0027	0.0023	0.0069	0.0035	0.0020	1.00	0.0035	36.36	2.27
Sfr.	0.70	0.58	1.75	0.88	0.50	200.00	1.00	20.00	1.25

The following are U.S. dollar values only. Argentina peso: 0.0249. Australian dollar: 1.00. Danish krone: 16.00. Italian lire: 200.00. Japanese yen: 100.00. New Zealand dollar: 0.64. South African rand: 1.50. U.S. dollar: 1.00. Source: First National Bank of Boston.

home



From Alderman's of High Point

William Branch Storey's one-room space includes white oak floors and walls, canvas-covered beds and bolsters, and use of rattan, rush, hemp

From 'the ultimate beach house' — ideas for your flat

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York
This self-contained, one-room space is termed by its designer "the ultimate beach house."

It can stand on its own, serve as guesthouse or vacation cottage, or be adapted as a family room or one-room flat. Designer William Branch Storey of High Point, North Carolina, a member of the American Society of Interior Designers (ASID), envisioned it tucked among the dunes as if it had been there, blending with sand and sky.

Mrs. Beeton's unbeatable strawberry shortcake

From "Mrs. Beeton's Favorite Cakes and Breads" (Ward Lock, London), here is a recipe for Strawberry Shortcake. The cup is a standard measuring cup; that is, 8 fluid ounces or 1/2 pint.

Strawberry Shortcake
2 cups plain flour (8 oz.)
1/2 teaspoon salt
Pinch of baking powder
1/2 pound ground almonds
1/2 cup margarine
1 cup sugar (2 oz.)
1 egg yolk

1 1/2 pint strawberries
Sugar to taste
1/2 to 1 1/4 cups whipped cream
2 pears (optional)

Sift flour, salt, and baking

powder and mix with ground almonds. Cream fat and sugar and add egg yolk. Work in flour mixture as for a cake or shortbread. Divide into 8 pieces and roll into rounds a

good 1/4-inch thick. Bake in moderate oven at 180 degrees C. or 350 degrees F. until golden brown, about 30 to 40 minutes. Cool.

Crush strawberries slightly with sugar to taste and add whipped cream. Spread this over first round, alternating and finishing with a layer of strawberries. Pipe whipped cream on top and around edges. Decorate as desired.

Pears make a good addition, mixed in with the strawberries. Peel and slice pears, poach them, and drain well before using.

tured off-white acrylic fabric that was inspired by macramé. Platform beds, 39 inches wide, are foam mattresses placed on plywood platforms. A storage box for bedding is built beneath one platform, and beneath the other platform slides a trundle bed to sleep the occasional guest. The beds are "allcovered" in white canvas duck, and canvas-covered fat round bolsters and a series of big pillows convert the beds to daytime seating.

All walls, as well as the floor in the living area, are covered with random-length white-oak flooring, left natural and unstained but given an easy-care polyurethane finish.

Two steps down is an intimate circular dining area with a round, natural-elm table and matching rush-seated chairs by Founders. Over the table is a round, clear plastic circular dome skylight that allows dining under the sky or by starlight.

A large rectangular pass-through area makes serving of foods easy, and also gives the host or hostess a good view and keeps him or her in touch with the dining-living area. Clavary storage areas are concealed in the walls of the circular dining section.

After dinner, the dining area can be quickly transformed into a mini dance floor, playroom, game room, or movie theater-in-the-round simply by moving the table through the doors onto the beach deck, or into the kitchen.

Wide, brown ceiling beams; six inches deep, are dropped to house indirect lighting, and attractive closet baskets are lined along the tops of the beams to provide yet more storage space. In a recessed area in the right corner, a built-in wall unit provides generous book, bibelot, and plant space, as well as a revolving shelf for the television set.

The clear Lucite coffee table by Abacus does not stop the eye, and so creates the illusion of greater spaciousness in the room. Narrow Lavelor metal blinds at the window control light and glare, providing complete privacy.

Mr. Storey's ultimate beach house design won first prize in this year's ASID-Barcelona Award Program.



children

Paddington



Paddington is my favourite bear. He has a hat and golden hair and a duffle coat which Aunt Lucy made and a suitcase full of marmalade.

Paddington's really a lovely bear but bears like him are very rare. So if you're lucky enough to meet Paddington in your high street, give him a smile and a little pat and perhaps he will stop for a friendly chat.

Susanee Micklethwait, 8
Lyne, Surrey, England

Why blueberries are blue

In the beginning the blue jay was dark blue. The blue jay waited and waited for his color to dry. Then he said, "I've waited long enough for my color to dry. I'm going to rub my feathers on those white berries." And he did. The blue jay's dark color came off in some spots and they were left white. The rest was light blue and the berries were left blue. That is why blueberries are blue and why the blue jay is white and blue.

Adam Coccero, 9
New Rochelle, New York

A hot day

I sure do wish
The sun would go down
It's like a hair stuck
on your head.

Shelli Wineand, 10
Hutchinson, Kansas

A poem can
play on the ground
and in the air and it
will walk very soft around

Lloyd Stepar, 10
Hutchinson, Kansas

Shelli and Lloyd are both fourth grade students at the Union Valley School in Hutchinson.

Spring is...

happiness. It is a deep down feeling of happiness and joy. Spring is a time for holidays, fun and games. Spring is the happiest time of the year. There are lots of pretty colored flowers. If you pass a farm you will see lots of little, fat, fat lambs and little baby chicks. What could be better than Spring?

Elizabeth Anne Daly, 7
Stourbridge, England

Footprints of young explorers

Pre-teens around the world are invited to send in their explorations on any subjects they choose. They can be poems, very short stories, drawings, or favorite hobbies. Those items we don't have room for will be returned if you include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Send to Children's Page, Box 353, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123.



A German girl's letter to us tells about the above picture she sent. The English translation of the letter appears below the German.

Liebe Freunde!

Ich, Susanne Feldhoff, habe dieses Bild gemalt und bin 11 Jahre alt. Ich dachte mir, dass eine Gruppe von kleinen Sonnenschildern ist, in Form von Zwergen, die mit ihrem Licht die Wahrheit leuchten lassen. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn Sie dieses Bild in den Monitor bringen würden.

I, Susanne Feldhoff, have painted this picture and am 11 years old. I thought to myself that this is a group of small Sunday School children in the form of dwarfs, who with their light let the truth shine. I would be glad if you would put this picture in the Monitor.

Susanne Feldhoff, 11
Halleinshaus, West Germany

Book reviews

Several children who visit the Belmont Memorial Library in Belmont, Massachusetts, decided to write their own reviews of children's books. Here are two of them:

Sheriff Sally Gopher and the Haunted Dancehall by Robert Quackenbush, Lothrop.

Sheriff Sally Gopher is an exciting book about a sheriff trying to solve a mystery about a haunted dance hall. The words are just the size so beginning readers can read them with no problems. It's an exciting book, and I think most young readers should love it.

Karen Dussault, 10
Belmont, Massachusetts

Burnie's Mum, illustrated by Erik Blegvad, Atheneum.

Dear Erik,

I love your book a lot. Especially the drawings. The watercolor is great. The words are something that makes a nice poem. The animals are very much alive. This book is for ages four to seven years old. Watercolors are the right things for this book. I find that the colored pictures are kids' favorite thing about the book. Children can point out the colors because there are so many. They love the animals and the people. A poem is the right thing for the pictures; they fit just perfectly. Little kids love it. I love to read little kids' books when I baby-sit.

Sincerely,
Lee Romish, 11
Belmont, Massachusetts

Learning

The first time I rode my bike, I felt really frightened. I was going to fall. I was so scared. I kept on stopping. But I had some fun. I felt like the sun. I was so happy.

Anson Smith, 8
East Lansing, Michigan

Mountain herbs

Did you smell so herb?
I did. It smelled fantastic.
We made herb shampoo.

Emily Blake, 9
Tucson, Arizona



Mark McKee, 8
Cincinnati, Ohio

Limerick

A young lady went up the barr,
To become a big ballet star.
But she couldn't point her toe,
Or plié very low.

As a dancer she won't get very far.

Heather Helges, 8
La Jolla, California

With skies and wings

With skies I see the clouds.
With wings I could fly like a bird.
With skies and wings,
I could do all sorts of things.
Lucky there were skies and then wings.

Katrine De Santos, 8
Manila, Philippines

Beyond confusion

My mother says yes;
My father says no.
I say yes;
My brother says maybe so.
I don't know where;
I don't know how.
That's why I'm confused here and now.
How do I know if I'm so elf?
What do you think of me?
I don't think I was meant to be I think
I'm going to calm down.
And get rid of my frown.
Why did I think I was so myself?
And I'm certainly not an elf!
I'm me!
I was meant to be!
That's why I was confused there and then,
And I don't think I'll be ever again!

Leura Creighton, 8
Phoenix, Arizona

Fall

I am a leaf and
I live on a tree. Then
I fall and I died.
Then I came back to
life and I blow
for days and days and
I blew to Canada.
In Maine and back
where I started
from and I got
picked up for
a game.

Jimmy Sigwell, 8
Winnipeg, New Hampshire

travel

A stewardess on roller skates? It's the only way to fly!

By David Butwin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

As a traveling man, I am expected to be a connoisseur of airlines and hotels. And yet when the best and worst of both are discussed, I am strangely mute. The truth is that I find most airplanes and hotel rooms about as distinguishable as the cans of tuna I pluck reflexively from my grocery shelf.

So you can appreciate the surprise, even alarm, that overtook me on a recent Friday when I discovered within hours not only an airplane but a hotel room to my liking.

Continental was the airline, and I confess that the confrontation was long overdue. In all those discussions of best and worst, Continental had probably fared better than any, but all I remembered from my one previous flight, years ago to Honolulu, was the set of Hawaiian Tiki mugs I was given. Or was that on Braniff?



My curiosity piqued, I hurried through the brunch of omelette, steak, potatoes, pineapple slices, and croissant. My notes show: omelette rubbery, steak overdone.

Pong champion

In the Polynesian Pub, poised over one of three Pong tables, stewardess Rita Tetsell had already defeated a string of businessmen and was looking for fresh competition. I sat down nearby with Larry Moore, the in-flight supervisor whose voice had welcomed us to the "Route of the Proud Bird."

Mr. Moore said he is able to make hotel and car reservations with a two-way radio that can reach Continental's operation control room about a half-hour from O'Hare. It is the Polynesian Pub, though, that entices business travelers away from other airlines.

Mr. Moore noted that the plane's bright floral decor was the work of actress Audrey Meadows, who is married to Continental's president, Bob Six. "We're a proud airline," said Larry Moore. "We're still small so we can afford to give a little extra." Then the tall, mustachioed ex-pro basketball player excused himself to mix and meet with more passengers.

Back in my seat in the Micronesia Room, decorated with a gold and green mural of natives spearing fish, I met the Pong champion, stewardess Tetsell. "We like to have fun," she said. "Last year we had some Fifties parties — one stewardess worked on roller skates and two came in formal."

"What about the Christmas carols?" I asked. "Somebody goes?"

"Oh, no, that was intentional. We just wanted to get you in the Christmas spirit a little early."

Games and other gimmicks are fun all right, but the measure of an airline is whether it reaches its destination on time with your bag waiting. Continental 828 arrived at O'Hare right on time, and at the gate Larry Moore was saying farewell to his customers. I paused no longer than three or four minutes to chat



with Mr. Moore and jot some notes, and when I got to the baggage claim area, the carousel had already stopped and my bags were stacked alongside.

Little things in hotel

At the hotel in question, the Ritz-Carlton on North Michigan Avenue, my first surprise was to find the lobby on the 12th floor. With its skylit fountain, handsome lounge, restaurants, and shops, the lobby occupies two acres of the 12th floor. But I am not here to tell you about the big things — it is the little things that make or break a hotel for me.

Considering that the Ritz-Carlton, kin to the Paris Ritz and six other Ritzes around the world, prides itself on an abundance of service, I was pleased to hear the pleasant, European-accented desk clerk permit me to carry up my own bags. I hate obligatory bellboy confrontations.

Even better, I found on entering Room 1832 that the windows, which look out on Lake Michigan, actually opened. This is not taint praise, for most modern hotels (the Ritz, part of the 74-story Water Tower Place, was opened in November, 1975) are hermetically sealed. Indeed the house brochure makes note of its operable windows and mentions another feature that immediately won me over: a bedside radio with digital clock — a boon for those of us who don't carry timepieces.

Another bonus I was to uncover is a speaker in the bathroom that enabled me to listen to the TV over my ablutions. The 450-room hotel also has a pantry with ready waiter on each floor and a spa on the 11th floor with pool, sauna, and exercise rooms. The bad news is that the rates begin at \$57 and don't stop until \$99, but maybe that's the price of comfort nowadays.

Aix-en-Provence

History around every corner but not behind every door

By Jack Waugh

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Aix-en-Provence, France
Madame DuPont, the tour guide, is a transplanted Parisienne with elegant way and a sense of history.

And she could have been speaking for every Frenchman on the southern French city, and said: "It is necessary to keep the memory of old times and not to forget the memory of the past."

In France respect for the past is second only to respect for food. It is as if the nation's landlord were history itself. There is very little here that does not owe a debt to the past. Even museums, boutiques, shops, and cafés get swallowed up in the larger fact of history and, new though they are, they also manage to look old.

The French have clearly mastered the art of fusing the old with the new and making the past part of the present. It may

be one of their finest contributions to Western culture. In French villages tearing down something old to build something new is unthinkable. As Madame DuPont says, "The French never knock down anything if they can avoid it." French cities invariably prohibit altering old facades. The rule is do what you want inside, but do not change the way anything old looks from the outside.

History since 400 B.C.

That explains cities like Aix-en-Provence, a history-laden municipality that has witnessed the flow of Greek, Roman, medieval, and French history since 400 B.C. And it is not unique — only typical. All of the French Riviera and the Provence are engaged in a love affair with the past.

No tourist can visit without being touched, impressed, even awed, by the history.

From the moment your foot sets down the Cours Mirabeau, the main boulevard lined with old plane trees, you can virtually sense the past around you. When they were students together in Aix, Paul Cézanne and Emile Zola walked down this avenue with its cafés on the sunny side and its elaborate dwellings on the shady side. The Comte de Mirabeau himself, that persuasive Revolutionary orator, walked in the shade of these plane trees.

In the 16th century Aix took on the personality of its most

famous ruler, Good King René. He was a king so liberal, benign, and enlightened that the city still reflects the joy of his times. Not even installing the parliament of Provence here in 1501, and the political upheaval and struggle that brought, tarnished the aura of good will.

In Aix Medieval churches are built over Roman temples. Once glorious Roman arenas crumble within sight of modern museums of art. And people live today in buildings that once knew the tread of knights.

In Marseille a tourist can look out over the harbor and see — and visit — the Chateau d'If, an ancient prison where some of the most famous political prisoners in French history end literature were once locked away: Alexandre Dumas's the Man in the Iron Mask and Count of Monte Cristo, and the hero of Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables," Jean Valjean.

In four towns on the French Riviera, from Antibes to Monte Carlo a tourist can find a Grimaldi castle, as often as not now a museum, built and occupied by generations of the famous family of barons and princes. These were castles built in the days when the only tourists were barbarian invaders who were far less friendly than the tourists of today. So the Grimaldis built villages with high protective walls and spectacular views in every direction.

Historical footnotes

Every town on the Riviera can claim at least a footnote in history. And often as not it was kayed to the Napoleonic era. Golfe-Juan, above Cannes, is where Napoleon landed in 1815 on his return from exile in Elba en route to Waterloo. And just up the road lived the Emperor's mother, whom he visited often. It was the Emperor's gay and impetuous sister, Pauline, who made Grasse into the resort it is today.

But those are relatively recent footnotes. The French Riviera was the doorway to Caesar's Gaul. And the great Roman general fought and won some of his greatest military battles here. It was in Marseille at the southern foot of the Riviera that he defeated his arch rival, Pompey, in the First Century B.C.

So if you go to the Riviera this summer, bring your sense of history, along with your swim suit, camera, and appetite. You'll need it.

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arts/books

'A Bridge Too Far'

Richard Attenborough refights the war

By David Sterritt

On location with "A Bridge Too Far" in the Netherlands, director Richard Attenborough assured me he was having no trouble maintaining tight artistic control amid the incredible logistics of a \$25 million war movie.

Still, he acknowledged, there was no way for a filmmaker to "indulge himself": When you have 100 tanks coming over the horizon, you can't hold anything until a cloud appears over the 17th one.

Now, looking at all 175 minutes of the finished picture, one sees Attenborough's capable hand in command of every shot. Tanks and jeeps rumble across the screen with split-second precision; guns and bombs boom with convincing menace; a huge cast of characters agonizes its way through the explicit horror and futility of a doomed invasion. Yet one misce that expressive cloud over the 17th tank — the telling detail that would lend depth and nuance to an imposing, instructive, but grimly mechanical spectacle.

Chronicle of failure

"A Bridge Too Far" not only re-creates Operation Market Garden, a nine-day land-and-air maneuver intended to end World War II by Christmas of 1944 and, like so many well-intended operations, "bring the boys back home."

It was a dismal failure. Intelligence reports were ignored by generals itching for a bold thrust; long marches and impossible crossings were planned with too little thought for rest and supplies; faulty equipment was assembled in the rush to action. In the movie's view the debacle would have been even worse if the Germans hadn't made their own blunders and the allies benefitted from a bit of blind luck.

It was Attenborough's intention to use this true but sorry tale as an immense anti-war fable, a graphic illustration (with small amounts of gore) of the evil that men do in the sincere service of patriotism and defense. Sometimes this aim becomes manifest in startlingly effective scenes — as when a sergeant saves a comrade by holding a cynical surgeon at gunpoint, or a major tries to rally his troops through bravado and good humor, or a Dutch doctor and a wealthy woman turn their lives to the aid of tragically wounded men.

Oversize war game

These are the movie's moments of rich humanity. Most of the time, though, "A Bridge Too Far" looks and feels like an oversize war game, an exercise in military coordination on one hand and cinematographic dealman points on the other. It impresses us. It rarely moves us.

William Goldman's screenplay does a good job of condensing gobs of information (from a hefty Cornelius Ryan book) into less than three hours, with just a dollop of baroque language. While some points are not clearly or completely stated, and many of the characters and situations seem to have popped out of the usual war-movie tradition — the doughty GI, the



By Bob Penn

Director Richard Attenborough discusses a scene with actor Jamea Caan

felat officer, the ominous omen, and so on — Goldman at least reaches for a combination of massive overview and intimate detail that goes beyond the unmemorable clockwork of, say, "The Longest Day."

Exploiting the perfunctory

Most of the movie's life is attributable to its actors, however. The early scenes are uninspired, with their old-fashioned view of war plans being somberly improvised by a roomful of movie stars. Yet Edward Fox soon brings humor and conviction with his stuffily comic British general; Anthony Hopkins combines wit and naturalism as an introspective officer; Robert Redford is strong as a likable Amer-

ican major; Elliott Gould bursts with energy as a leader with a mighty task to perform.

Also on hand are suave Dirk Bogarde, James Caan (quietly touching as a hapless soldier), a bluff Michael Caine, a smooth Sean Connery, a properly pompous Maximilian Schell, a rather overzealous Ryan O'Neal, Hardy Kruger — excellent in a complex role — and Gene Hackman, who can't seem to decide what to do with his Polish accent. Liv Ullmann and Laurence Olivier shine as a pair of self-sacrificing Neiterlanders.

Though most of them don't have much screen time to work with, these expensive and familiar faces usually make the most of even perfunctory scenes. Still, the hugeness of the movie overwhelms them. Clearly "A Bridge Too Far" was an effort of personal involvement for impresario Joseph E. Levine, who launched it with vast expenditures of time, energy, and money; and for Attenborough, who saw in it the possibility for a sane and humane statement about the dread awfulness of battle. The result is ultimately impersonal, however, a machine rather than an organism. Its own military hardware becomes its ballast, holding it to earth when it wants most earnestly to soar.

'Cassandra Crossing': suspense film

By David Sterritt

"The Cassandra Crossing" harks back to the days of "Panic in the Streets" and other suspense exercises, where heroes struggled to save the day from bacterial danger. The so-called "plague," or whatever, never seemed very real, but was merely a "macguffin" — Alfred Hitchcock's term for the something-or-other that everyone in the movie fusses about. It doesn't matter what a macguffin is; it only matters that enough interesting characters get worked up about it.

So it is to the expensive, star-studded, but disappointing "The Cassandra Crossing." The macguffin is material from a germ-warfare experiment, splattered on a terrorist hiding out on a European train. Lots of innocent people get exposed to the stuff, and for a while the plot seems almost satirical. Fortunately there is a happy ending in store — unless biochemical bureaucrats ruin everything to save the secrecy of their illicit research.

Eventually, after many plot twists, we find the train speeding toward a trolley bridge that is about to collapse under its own weight. This could have been a thoroughly suspenseful situ-

ation, but by then it is hard to believe anything in this hopelessly artificial movie.

The characters seem to have stepped out of bad '40s movies — the handsome doctor, sophisticated wife, huffy matron, sleazy gigolo, etc. — and the film itself cannot decide between social commentary and trite melodrama.

In any event, many stars try hard to make the silliness work. They include Richard Harris, as the rich-handsome-famous doctor, Sophia Loren as his wife, Ava Gardner, Burt Lancaster, Martin Sheen, Ingrid Thulin (once an Ingmar Bergman star), John Phillip Law, Ann Turkel (Mrs. Harris), Lionel Stander, and football's O. J. Simpson as a suspicious priest. So many have not labored so hard over so little since "Voyage of the Damned" a few weeks ago — and maybe the disappointment of both these films will lead to some rethinking of the more-is-better formula. At least where stars are concerned. But Sir Law Grade-shid Carlo Ponti, the impresario who fanned on "The Cassandra Crossing," have never been known for thinking small.

How America got its President

Convention, by Richard Reeves. London: Hutchinson. £4.50.

By Curtis Sitomer

For those still in search of the "real" Jimmy Carter, Richard Reeves's new book "Convention" won't be much help. This penetrating, well-written, and oft-amusing backstage account of the Democratic convention in New York City — which nominated the current President — offers little insight into the character of the chief executive or sheds more light on his inner political circle.

It also is not a definitive analysis of how Mr. Carter won his party's nod.

What this book does serve up as its main fare are behind-the-scenes vignettes of delegates, members of the Democratic power structure, would-be insiders, and hangers-on who provided the supporting cast for Jimmy Carter in New York.

Mr. Reeves, a veteran newsman and political columnist for New York magazine jostled Republicans in his 1976 biographical account of Mr. Carter's predecessor and opponent, "A Ford Not a Lincoln." He uses the inner struggles of the Democrats as a target in "Convention."

If this book has a hero — or at least a lead character — it has to be Robert S. Strauss, up to recently Democratic National Chairman. It was Mr. Strauss — author Reeves points out — who successfully mediated intraparty conflicts prior to and during the convention and delivered a unified Democratic contingency to the already-determined nominee.

The ingratiating Texan, a party regular, made no secret of the fact that he was not a Carter enthusiast in the early days of 1976. He would have preferred a more mainstream Democrat, perhaps Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, to carry the presidential banner for his party.

But it was also Mr. Strauss, the pragmatic loyalist, who soothed a dissident women's coalition, blacks, labor, and other factions in the party to avoid major splits at the convention and perhaps disaster for Democrats at the polls in November.

In retrospect, it would seem that the Strauss role was central to Jimmy Carter's election to the presidency.

"Convention" is amply sprinkled with humorous yarns about youth delegates (17-year-old Clare Smith of Ohio was the youngest); convention gote-grashers, publicly seekers (motor vehicles inspector Joe Kaselak who has devoted a career to getting himself photographed with political personalities); and wheeler-dealers who are angling for appointments, prestige, and money connection.

All this against the background of New York itself, complete with special narcotics squads, Broadway characters, and con men.

"Convention's" 220 pages are easy — and often entertaining reading. But if the reader expects to get through them a better fix on the Hamilton Jordans, the Jody Powells, the Pat Caddells, the Jerry Raifshoons — and others who helped propel Jimmy Carter into the limelight of the New York convention and ultimately to the presidency — he will be disappointed. That will have to be left to other books.

Curtis Sitomer is the American news editor of the Monitor.

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education

Play: the important work of babyhood

A seven-month-old is an explorer and physicist

By Kent Garland Burt

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

After seven months babies move beyond the boilers of the binkel they are laid on and explore the environs of the average household. Their curiosity has been primed by their ability to see across a room and to notice fine detail on objects close at hand. Their new mobility enables them to satisfy this curiosity through hands-on investigation.

A house temporarily stripped of ornaments and accessories, even potted plants, will not make the pages of House Beautiful. But by baby-proofing as many areas of the house as possible a mother can permit her child's healthy exploration with relative peace of mind. The first times she has to say "no," the better the baby will understand that mother's disapproval refers to specific things or areas and not to the act of examination itself.

Toys at this stage are dust ruffles, doorbells, pots, pans, plastic containers in kitchen sinks, stairs, the controls of the TV set, magazines on coffee tables, shoes on closet doors, a fly on a window sill, an ottoman, a fireplace fender, or the fringe on an area rug. Babies are like Lewis and Clark on expedition, mapping the geography of their home.

Jurnal babies "into everything" leave a trail of clutter behind them. To conserve energy, mothers should condition themselves to educate their husbands to tolerate some mess during the 7-to-14-month period. Cawling babies have a strong interest in

small objects. Parents can smass a collection of three dozen or so interestingly contoured objects, one-and-a-half inches in diameter or larger (so they cannot be swallowed), and make them available in a large container. A shoe horn, a plastic cookie cutter, a film drum, a curtain rod ring, a box with hinged lid, and hardware store or notion counter items all are good specimens for the collection.

With such small objects Harvard Preschool Project researchers discovered crawlers show two types of behavior: examining the physical characteristics of them and exercising simple skills on them.

The first behavior consists of manipulating objects, mouthing them and studying them from different angles. Babies act like solemn physicists researching the properties of unfamiliar substances. They find rubber bands to be stretchy, tape to be sticky, soil gritty, ice cubes cold, cellophane crinkly, and hair bushes prickly.

The second behavior consists of doing things with the objects that demonstrated control over them. Rolling balls, flipping light switches, and slipping shapes through holes in shape-sorting boxes are examples.

A favorite activity of a certain small boy named Gary, a pot-bellied 14-month-old, illustrates these points. He places a box of Nosh's ark animals on a broad window sill. Then he climbs on the ladder of his indoor slide beside the window. He stands still on the second-from-the-top rung, not interested in descent himself. He reaches over to the box resting on the sill beside him and selects a giraffe. His hand hovers over the edge of the platform at the top of the slide. His pudgy fingers release the giraffe. Gary stares as the giraffe glides down the incline and stops abruptly on the carpet. He systematically disposes of all the animals

in this way, occasionally pausing to examine the contours of one. Then he grabs the empty box, climbs down the ladder, and returns the animals to their container.

The box and its contents inspire Gary to his own variation of the theme of "fill and dump." Noah's animals make a prize collection of irregularly shaped objects. There is a new feature to discover each round: the spots of the leopard or the trunk of the elephant. Grasping and releasing each animal for a nose dive gives Gary the chance to practice digital skills and feel in charge. Finally, following the paths of moving objects is the delight of a scientific mind.

A baby, once mobile, is driven by curiosity to investigation. Basic learning goes on minute by minute and is inevitably enhanced by friendly responses from Mom whenever her absorbed explorer chooses to share a discovery.

Second of three articles



By Kent Burt

One-year-old examines brass bell

Why schools disappoint Britons: Shirley Williams looks for answers

Cabinet Secretary shows concern for parents' role

By Cynthia Parsons
Education editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Bright, energetic, capable, efficient. These are the adjectives used by friend and foe alike to describe Britain's present Secretary of State for Education and Science — Mrs. Shirley Williams.

Wa mat in her attractive, no-nonsense office across the Thames from Parliament, and after a very vigorous hour-long interview, I found my notebook full of words like "bright, energetic, capable, efficient." But there's more.

There's a deep sense of caring, and a fearlessness. Also a toughness underlies a willingness to learn. Mrs. Williams knows that parents have had too little to say about how state schools are run and what it is they teach, and she intends to change that.

There's also an almost disarming honesty. Yes, Mrs. Williams agrees. There are fewer students taking two A (advance) level examinations in science. But then she steps out further and explains, "More students than ever before in our history are taking chemistry, physics, and biology, and the reason they are not taking two or three A-level examinations is that they are taking one advanced-level course in science and another in art."

Emphasis on opportunity

As some conservative educators, this is "bad," this broadening of the high-school course. But for Mrs. Williams it is "good." She would certainly argue that a student should have the opportunity to take science as well as art if he wants to and not be forced to specialize prior to the higher-education level.

That Mrs. Williams is fearless is borne out by her setting the country off on a set of debates. For years, education and schooling have been the province of the specialists. And for the past couple of decades the priority has been on form or structure to the exclusion of function.

"We needed to talk about content," Mrs. Williams asserted, "and so we did in eight regional conferences."

Talking about current concerns, she explained that the schools had been expected to do too much — to solve all academic as well as social problems. And that this euphoria over what the schools would and could do was followed by — to use her words — "Irrational disappointment."

How to restore confidence

One way to solve the problem over loss of faith in the schools, Mrs. Williams argues, is to open up the content and allied concerns to parents as well as to teachers and school authorities.

Mrs. Williams uses a marvelous analogy for what many call by the jargon term: "Finding promising practices." To Shirley Williams this is beseeching. "You send the best out to find the best money, and then follow them up to learn where they are."

She explains the need for urgency. "Perhaps there is a school which has found a grand way to teach English as a second language. If we don't find that have and we don't share what they do with others, why a whole generation of English-as-a-second-language students could fall by the wayside."

One has the feeling talking with Shirley Williams that school problems are not going to be allowed to fall by the wayside or be deliberately set aside for other concerns.

She's meeting them head on — and not without meeting opposition head on. She has her critics; many who don't think she's lacking what's best. But she's committed to a strong state education system and clearly working to strengthen what she feels should be strengthened and to cast off what is superfluous.

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French/German

L'or : nous pouvons nous en passer

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 2]

par Francis Renny
Écrit spécialement pour
The Christian Science Monitor

Une fois par semaine, un avion du fret de la British Airways atterrit à l'aéroport féérique de Doha, sur le golfe Persique. (C'est l'une des plus jolies et des plus chères aéroports du monde.) De l'avion sont déchargées, l'une après l'autre, des caisses pleines de lingots et de pièces d'or. Elles disparaissent dans le marché de Doha et, dans la semaine qui suit, lorsque le nouvel arrivage a lieu, il n'en reste plus trace.

D'après le rapport annuel de la Consolidated Gold Fields, Doha et d'autres clients du Moyen-Orient ont acheté environ 500 tonnes d'or l'an dernier - environ 30% du total mis sur le marché. Mais ce n'était pas seulement de l'or en barre provenant des ventes de pétrole et destiné aux chambres fortes des banques du Liban, en aucun cas. Une grande partie était sous forme de bijoux ou, fait intéressant en Italie et vendus aux travailleurs du golfe.

Car parmi les consommateurs d'or se trouvent en grand nombre des milliers de travailleurs émigrés des émirats et de l'Arabie Saoudite : Pakistanais, Iraniens et même Chinois. Et ces gens croient plus fermement aux bracelets d'or entourant les poignets de leurs femmes qu'aux comptes en banque de papier-monnaie.

Dans tout le sous-continent de l'Inde et du Pakistan, c'est une dot d'or qui fait qu'une fille se marie bien et des chieles en or sont gardées comme les économies de la famille et vendues en période de famine pour acheter du blé.

Avec tout le travail que l'on peut obtenir dans la production de pétrole des émirats et les aaleires particulièrement élevés qui sont payés, les émigrants, qui forment 80% de la population de Doha, font la queue pour acheter de l'or. Certains des fabricants italiens ont six mois de retard dans leurs commandes. Une relance bienvenue pour une économie malade.

L'Inde ainsi que le Pakistan ont théoriquement des réglementations très strictes quant à l'importation de l'or : il affaiblit la valeur de la roupie. Mais la contrebande est très largement répandue. Pour commencer, les douaniers hésitent à fouiller les dames voilées dans les aéroports en pleine activité ; mais seule une petite partie de l'or entre par la voie des nrs. Le port enchanté de Doha qui ressemble à Venise, regorge de ce qui semble être d'antiques voliers qui, lorsqu'on les examine de plus près, se trouvent être équipés de moteurs diesel modernes très puissants, assez rapides pour gagner de vitesse les bateaux patrouilleurs normaux. La plupart de l'or voyage par mer.

Les arrivages d'or mis en vente sur le marché libre se sont élevés l'an dernier à un peu moins de 1 500 tonnes. Cela malgré un niveau de débit à peu près constant du prin-

pal producteur, l'Afrique du Sud. L'augmentation, d'après Consolidated, s'explique surtout par des ventes importantes faites par l'Union soviétique, le deuxième des plus grands producteurs du monde, et par la vente de réserves par la Chine.

Une autre source était le Fonds monétaire international, dont les adjudications ont contribué à maintenir les prix à peu près stables en 1976. Dernièrement, des craintes renouvelées au sujet de l'inflation ont fait de nouveau monter les prix - une tendance continue. Il n'y a pas encore de signe indiquant que le métal ait perdu son influence magique sur les Orientaux, bien que les penseurs économiques occidentaux puissent déplorer son inutilité et le fait que de l'or en barre ne produit aucun intérêt. Les Arabes disent : « L'or garde le silence. »

Beirut, dans le Liban, a subi un recul sérieux en tant que marché libre de l'or, à cause de la guerre civile. Il fut un temps où vous pouviez vagabonder dans le Bazar de l'or et commander une douzaine de pièces d'or tirées d'un casier comme s'il s'agissait de pièces de chocolat.

Le vendeur vous aurait même demandé si vous désiriez des pièces d'or fabriquées à Londres ou faites localement. Les pièces locales, pour compenser leur manque d'authenticité, étaient en général faites dans de l'or de qualité légèrement plus raffinée. Quant aux bracelets et aux chaînes, elles étaient vendues au poids sous un petit pourcentage pour le façon. Mais

maintenant le marché s'est transféré dans des endroits comme Damas, Téhéran et Kuwait.

L'or pourrait-il jamais perdre sa valeur, miner les économies de millions de paysans et de petits commerçants ? De temps à autre des bruits courent que la Russie a des réserves immenses d'or en barre et qu'elle a l'intention de les déverser sur le marché, ruinant ainsi les monnaies occidentales. Mais il n'y a pas de signe d'une telle éventualité jusqu'à présent, et la plupart des négociants d'or en barre sont convaincus que ces bruits sont des boniments ou même qu'ils font partie d'une guerre des nerfs délibérément calculée. En tant que petit exportateur, l'Union soviétique semble avoir besoin de sa production d'or comme une réserve pour acheter du blé lorsque les récoltes sont insuffisantes. Il ne serait pas dans son intérêt de démolir le marché.

Depuis toujours des bruits courent au sujet d'un procédé qui permettrait d'extraire de l'or de l'eau de la mer ; et une conjecture relativement plus probable relative à la possibilité de l'extraire des fonds sous-marins. Evidemment, avec les ressources du sous-sol qui viennent à épuisement, le monde devra se tourner vers les réserves sous-marines pour d'autres fournitures également, telles que le gaz et le pétrole. Mais, comme pour le pétrole, les coûts de production seront élevés.

L'or ne traîne pas à des milliers de brasses de profondeur comme le sable. Et en fin de compte, contrairement au pétrole, nous pourrions fort bien nous en passer...

Wir können auch ohne Gold auskommen

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 2 in englischer Sprache.]

Von Francis Renny
Sonderbericht für den
Christian Science Monitor

Ein Frachtflugzeug der British Airways landet einmal in der Woche auf dem märchenhaften Flughafen von Doha am Persischen Golf, einem der schönsten und teuersten Flughäfen in der Welt. Die Fracht besteht aus

Goldbarren und Goldmünzen, die kastenweise entladen werden. Sie gelangen auf den Markt von Doha, und innerhalb einer Woche, wenn die nächste Lieferung eintrifft, sind sie spurlos verschwunden.

Wie aus dem Jahresbericht der Firma Consolidated Gold Fields hervorgeht, kauften Doha und andere nahestehende Kunden im vergangenen Jahr etwa 500 Tonnen neuen Goldes

- das sind ca. 30 Prozent des Gesamtumsatzes. Es handelt sich hier aber keinesfalls lediglich um Goldbarren, die mit Geldern aus dem Ölgeschäft gekauft werden und in den Banktresoren der Scheichs verschwinden. Ein großer Teil davon war Goldschmuck, der in Italien angefertigt und an die Arbeiter am Golf verkauft wurde.

Zu den Käufern des Goldes zählen nämlich die zehntausend Fremdarbeiter in den Schichtminen und in Saudi-Arabien: Pakistan, Iraner und sogar Chinesen. Und diese Leute halten viel mehr von Armreifen für ihre Frauen als von Banknoten.

Überall auf dem indisch-pakistanischen Subkontinent kann eine Tochter eine gute Partie machen, wenn ihre Mitgift aus Gold besteht, und Goldketten bleiben als Rücklage im Besitz der Familie. Erst in Notzeiten trennt man sich von ihnen, um Getreide dafür zu kaufen.

In den Ölschichtminen gibt es viele freie Arbeitsplätze, und es werden ungewöhnlich hohe Löhne gezahlt. So kommt es, daß die Einwanderer, die 80 Prozent der Bevölkerung Dubais ausmachen, Schlange stehen, um Gold zu kaufen. Manche der italienischen Fabrikanten sind mit ihren Lieferungen sechs Monate im Rückstand - ein willkommenes Auftrieb für eine kränkelnde Wirtschaft.

Sowohl Indien als auch Pakistan haben theoretisch strikte Vorschriften für die Einfuhr von Gold: sie schwächt den Wert der Rupie. Doch der Schmuggel ist weit verbreitet. Zollbeamte zögern schon, wenn es darum geht, verschleierte Damen auf verkehrsreichen Flughäfen zu durchsuchen; aber nur ein geringer Teil des Golden wird auf dem Luftweg eingeführt. In Dubais magischem, venezianisch anmutendem Hafen wimmelt es von silberaussehenden Dauen, den arabischen Segelschiffen. Wenn man sie jedoch genauer untersucht, stolzt sich heraus, daß sie mit starken modernen Dieselmotoren ausgestattet und somit schnell genug sind, um das durchschnittliche Patrouillenboot hinter sich zu lassen. Das Gold wird meistens auf Schiffen transportiert.

Djo auf dem freien Markt zum Verkauf angebotenen Goldvorräte sind im vergangenen Jahr auf fast 1500 Tonnen angestiegen, und dies trotz der im großen und ganzen konstanten Menge, die Südafrika, der Hauptlieferant, fördert. Die Ursache ist, wie die Firma Consolidated erklärt, vor allem auf umfangreiche Lieferungen seitens der Sowjetunion, des zweitgrößten Produzenten in der Welt, und auf Chinas Verkauf von Goldreserven zurückzuführen.

Eine weitere Quelle war der Internationale Währungsfonds, dessen Auktionen dazu bei-

getragen haben, daß die Goldpreise im Jahre 1976 einigermaßen stabil geblieben sind. In letzter Zeit hat die erneute Furcht vor einer steigenden Inflation die Preise wieder in die Höhe getrieben - eine anhaltende Tendenz. Es gibt noch keine Anzeichen dafür, daß das kostbare Metall seine magische Wirkung auf die Menschen im Nahen Osten verloren hat, selbst wenn Wirtschaftler im Westen darüber wehklagen mögen, daß Gold nutzlos sei und daß ein Goldbarren keine Zinsen bringe. Die Araber sagen: „Gold schweigt.“

Beitrat hat als freier Goldmarkt infolge des Bürgerkrieges schwere Rückschläge erlitten. Einst konnte man durch den Goldbasar schlendern und ein Dutzend Goldmünzen aus einem Kasten kaufen, als ob es sich um Pralinen handelte.

Der Händler hätte sogar gefragt, ob man in London geprägte oder einheimische Goldmünzen haben wolle. Letztere bestanden gewöhnlich aus qualitativ besserem Gold, um den Mangel an Authentizität wettzumachen. Armreifen und Ketten wurden nach Gewicht verkauft, zusätzlich eines kleinen Aufschlags für die handwerkliche Arbeit. Jetzt sind Plätze wie Damaskus, Teheran und Kuwait zu Goldhandelszentren avanciert.

Könnte Gold jemals seinen Wert verlieren und die Ersparnisse von Millionen von Bauern und kleinen Geschäftsgütern zunichte machen? Von Zeit zu Zeit kursieren Gerüchte, daß die Sowjetunion riesige Mengen von Goldbarren besitzt und sie auf den Markt zu werfen denke, um die westlichen Währungen zu ruiniert. Es hat jedoch bisher keine Anzeichen dafür gegeben, daß sie hierzu in der Lage wäre, und die meisten Goldhändler sind überzeugt, daß die Gerüchte ein großer Bluff oder sogar Teil eines beebsichtigten Nervenkrieges sind. Die Sowjetunion ist ein schlechter Exporteur und scheint ihr Gold als Reserve behalten zu müssen, um im Fall von Mürren Getreide kaufen zu können. Es wäre nicht in ihrem Interesse, den Markt zu zerstören.

Man spricht immer wieder von einem Verfahren zur Gewinnung von Gold aus dem Meer und von den wahrscheinlich noch größeren Chancen, Gold unter dem Meeresboden zu fördern. Da sich die Naturschätze, die unter der Erdoberfläche ruhen, zu erschöpfen beginnen, wird die Welt natürlich nach anderen Rohstoffen, einschließliche Gas und Öl, unter dem Meeresboden suchen müssen. Die Förderkosten werden jedoch, wie im Falle von Öl, hoch sein.

Gold liegt nicht in einer Tiefe von Hunderten von Metern wie Sand herim. Und letztlich Endes könnten wir, im Gegensatz zum Öl, eigentlich auch ohne Gold auskommen.



A 40-year climb, but what a view

Le scrutin espagnol : une ascension de 40 ans, mais quelle vue !
Wahlan in Spanien: ein 40-jähriger Aufstieg, doch welche Aussicht!

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Le véritable amour

Beaucoup de gens ont eu la joie d'aimer et d'être aimés. Mais parfois on peut hésiter à aimer par crainte d'être incompris ou même calomnié. Il se peut que l'on ait une attitude aimante puisse être considérée comme un signe de faiblesse. On constate qu'aimer au niveau spirituel ou de la mauvaise façon n'est pas vraiment aimer, on préférerait éviter convenant de mal juger des besoins d'autrui. Comment donc peut-on aimer la façon qui bénira inévitablement les autres ?

Paul était apparemment conscient de cet élément essentiel du véritable amour est la bonté - une sensibilité envers les besoins réels des autres et la volonté de répondre à ces besoins avec douceur, bienveillance, gentillesse et prévenance. Il écrivait : « Par votre fraternel, soyez pleins d'affection pour les autres ; par honneur, usez de bontés réciproques. »

La Science Chrétienne, conformément à la Bible, montre comment exprimer des qualités divines réconfortantes, un véritable amour profond, désintéressé, un amour qui se révèle rapidement comme une indication de force plutôt que de faiblesse, qui est prévenant, exempt d'erreur de jugement. Un tel amour provient d'une compréhension que la nature infinie de Dieu est l'Esprit, ou l'Amour divin, et que l'homme est l'image de Dieu. Son reflet spirituel, par là.

En prenant conscience que Dieu est l'Amour qui englobe tout, et que l'homme est l'expression même de l'Amour, nous commençons à ressentir la direction toujours présente et infaillible de l'Amour, ce qui à son tour, nous donne une sensibilité plus vive pour faire connaître l'influence de l'Amour dans nos rapports avec les autres. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit dans le livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne :

« L'Amour nous inspire le chemin, l'illumine, nous le désigne, et nous y guide. »

La perception croissante que l'homme est uni à l'Amour infini commence à purifier les affections. Nous commençons à nous voir moins comme des mortels bienveillants et plus comme des expressions individuelles de l'Amour lui-même. Christ Jésus a souligné l'importance d'un amour fraternel dirigé par Dieu. Non simplement comme un devoir, mais comme le résultat naturel de la compréhension de l'Amour qui constitue la nature de tout être véritable. Les grandes œuvres de guérison de Jésus furent la preuve du fait puissant que l'Amour divin est une loi toujours présente opérant dans l'existence humaine pour guérir et bénir. Et il a montré que nous aussi, nous pouvons développer dans une certaine mesure sa capacité de guérir lorsque nous obtenons une connaissance pratique de la nature de Dieu en tant qu'Amour. Non pas comme une belle théorie, mais comme une loi vivante qui peut être démontrée.

Nous pouvons démontrer la loi de l'Amour à mesure que nous apprenons à utiliser la compréhension spirituelle et à percevoir la nature entièrement parfaite de l'homme à la ressemblance de Dieu.

C'est là l'amour dans son sens le plus élevé. Il demeure serolement inébranlé par des erreurs telles que l'injustice, la colère, la haine et est toujours prêt à pardonner.

Le véritable amour n'est pas intellectuel, froid, distant. Il est chaleureux, vigoureux, miséricordieux, compatissant. Il se manifeste dans des actes de bonté discrète. Son pouvoir se voit dans des attitudes meilleures de ceux qui nous entourent, et dans une existence exaltée et transformée. La moindre expression d'amour désintéressé peut être la solution d'un problème apparemment insurmontable. Mrs. Eddy écrit : « L'amour est conséquent, égal, compatissant, plein d'abnégation, incroyablement bon. »

Romains 12:10 : « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures », p. 454 ; « Miscellaneous Writings », p. 312.

« Christian Science » (Krisstian) « Science »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la lettre d'avis en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Francis C. Carter, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Wahre Liebe

Viele von uns wissen, wieviel Freude es bereitet, Liebe auszudrücken und zu empfangen. Bisweilen mögen wir jedoch zögern, unserer Liebe Ausdruck zu geben, weil wir befürchten, mißverstanden oder gar verleumdet zu werden. Wir glauben vielleicht, eine liebevolle Haltung könne als ein Zeichen der Schwäche angesehen werden. Oder wenn wir erkennen, daß wir in Wirklichkeit nicht lieben, wenn wir zur falschen Zeit oder auf unangebrachte Weise Liebe zum Ausdruck bringen, vermeiden wir es lieber, durch die falsche Einschätzung der Bedürfnisse eines anderen in Verlegenheit zu geraten. Wie können wir nun aber so lieben, daß es andere ganz gewiß segnet?

Paulus war sich offenbar bewußt, daß Freundschaft - ein feines Empfindungsvermögen für die echten Bedürfnisse anderer und die Fähigkeit, mit sanfter Güte, Freigebigkeit und Umsicht dazu beizutragen, diese Bedürfnisse zu stillen - ein wesentliches Element wahrer Liebe ist. Er schrieb: « Die brüderliche Liebe untereinander sei herzlich. Einer komme dem anderen mit Ehrerbietung zuvor. »

In Übereinstimmung mit der Bibel zeigt uns die Christliche Wissenschaft, wie wir wahrherzige, göttliche Eigenschaften, eine wirklich wahre und selbstlose Liebe zum Ausdruck bringen können, eine Liebe, die schnell als ein Zeichen der Stärke anstatt der Schwäche erkannt wird, eine Liebe, die umsichtig und frei von Fehurteil ist. Eine solche Liebe erwacht dem Verständnis, daß Gott unendlich, göttlicher Geist oder unendliche, göttliche Liebe ist und daß der Mensch Gottes Ebenbild, Seine vollkommene, geistige Widerspiegelung, ist.

Wenn wir Gott als die allumfassende Liebe und den Menschen als den unmittelbaren Ausdruck ebendieser Liebe verstehen lernen, beginnen wir die immer gegenwärtige, unfehlbare Führung der Liebe zu spüren, und dies wiederum gibt uns ein besseres Gefühl dafür, wie wir in unserem Umgang mit anderen die Berührung der göttlichen Liebe zum Ausdruck bringen können. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt im Lehrbuch der Christlichen Wissenschaft: « Liebe inspiriert, erleuchtet, befestigt und führt den Weg. »

Durch die zunehmende Erkenntnis der Einheit des Menschen mit der unendlichen Liebe wird die Liebe geläutert. Wir begin-

nen uns weniger als gütige Sterbliche und mehr als individuellen Kundwerden der göttlichen Liebe zu betrachten. Christus Jesus betonte die Bedeutung einer gutverordneten brüderlichen Liebe; sie sollte nicht lediglich eine Pflicht, sondern das natürliche Ergebnis unseres Verständnisses von der Liebe sein, die das Wesen allen wirklichen Seins ausmacht. Die großen Heilungen, die Jesus vollbrachte, veranschaulichten die gewaltige Tatsache, daß die göttliche Liebe ein immer gegenwärtiges Gesetz ist, das auf das menschliche Leben hellend und segnend einwirkt. Und Jesus zeigte uns, daß auch wir uns seine Fähigkeit zu heilen bis zu einem gewissen Grade zu eigen machen können, wenn wir Gott als Liebe verstehen lernen und dieses Verständnis praktisch anwenden - nicht als eine wunderbare Theorie, sondern als ein lebendiges Gesetz, das demonstriert werden kann.

Wir können das Gesetz der Liebe demonstrieren, wenn wir lernen, eine von geläuteter Liebe lenken zu lassen, und die Vollkommenheit des Menschen als des Ebenbildes Gottes wahrnehmen. Dies ist Liebe im höchsten Sinne. Sie läßt sich von Irrtümern wie Ungerechtigkeit, Ärger, Haß weder abschrecken noch stören, und sie ist stets bereit zu vergeben.

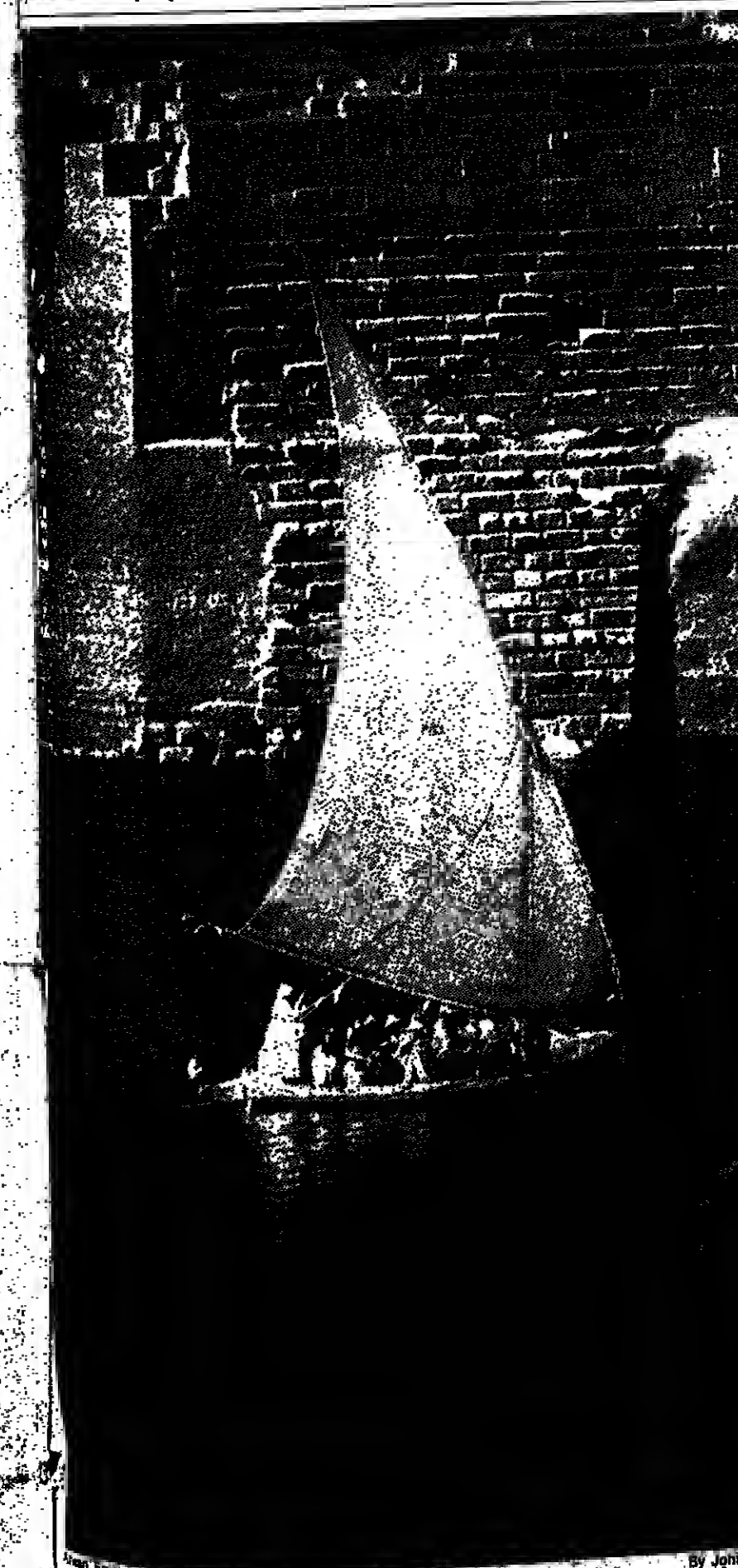
Wahre Liebe ist nicht intellektuell, kalt oder abweisend. Sie ist warm, vital, barmherzig und mitfühlend. Sie findet in unbesonnenen liebevollen Handlungen ihren Ausdruck. Ihre Wirksamkeit zeigt sich im besseren Verhalten der Menschen um uns her und in manch einem erhobenen, umgewandelten Leben. Schon die geringste Berührung selbstloser Liebe kann zur Lösung eines scheinbar unüberwindlichen Problems führen. Mrs. Eddy schreibt: « Die Liebe ist fest, unveränderlich, mitfühlend, selbstopfernd, uneussprechlich gültig. »

Römer 12:10 : « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », S. 454 ; « Vermissende Schriften », S. 312.

« Christian Science » (Krisstian) « Science »

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », von Mary Baker Eddy, existiert mit der englischen Text in der gegenüberliegenden Seite. Man kann es in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Francis C. Carter, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausführliche Informationen über andere christliche wissenschaftliche Schulungen in deutscher Sprache erhält man durch den Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Afternoon sail on the Nile



'Boys and Kitten': Watercolor by Winslow Homer (1836-1910)

A path of our own

The cosmos of my early childhood was bounded, at first, of course, by the walls of our second-floor apartment on Verdener Strasse 18; a year or two later, it began to expand downstairs, at precisely noon each Thursday, into the spacious kitchen of Grandma Boettcher. She was a sailing ship captain's widow who had gone to sea with her husband. She was known for her tactfulness to all but me to whom she muttered sweet nothings while I sat on her lap nibbling at chunks of boiled potatoes with butter melting on top.

On warm dry days my world extended to the sidewalk for tricycling and, on festive occasions, to the sidewalk on the other side for a picnic. There Mother set up our tiny chairs and table and I sat with a basket of crackers and a pitcher of lemonade. We munched and drank and peered through the tall wrought iron fence into the dense park behind it, watching for the stir of a foraging squirrel among the branches.

The most unforgettable of my first horizons, however, was also the narrowest: a strip of bare hard ground a foot and a half wide that ran through the grass along the dike just below the tree-lined crest above the Weser River. Ursula and I discovered it the

first time we were able to walk that far. We ran along it, one behind the other, while our parents proceeded a few feet above and about fifty feet away from us on the fine-pebbled promenade on the top.

The Osterdeich, the most popular Sunday Spaziergang among the people of Bremen, offered two contrasting views: to the left, a boulevard lined by pampered villas gardens; to the right the weeping vista of both banks of the Weser which, at that point, was just wide and deep enough for tugboats pulling strings of barges.

Below, down the gentle grass slope, there were lovers sitting within a respectful inch or two holding hands and skipping rope near their mothers who sat on crocheted blankets crocheting still more blankets. Still farther down, along a water-level promenade, a steady stream of people, dressed less formally than those above, ambled past nautically uniformed nannies chatting over their prams and past anglers who exhibited neither motion nor emotion whatever the size of their catch.

In this severely flat pastureland of Northwest Germany, the Osterdeich offered, to a low profile, the kind of many-tiered world, comprehensible at one glance, that Bremen-

ites saved all year to sea in the mountain provinces 200 kilometers away; yet here they had one, to enjoy all year round.

About a mile or so down-river, the Weser arched sharply away from the dike, leaving room for the Porzellan, the tiny parcels of flowers and vegetables Bremenites cultivated with consecration. It was there we went to Herr and Frau Hagens' Porzellan in order to acknowledge the past week's advance in their vegetable. We sat in the sun in front of their toolshed with its potted geraniums under spotless windows, sipping hot, thick chocolate lopped with whipped cream, while the women discussed the growth of anemones and asters and the men the decline of Deutschland's democracy.

And all around us, flowers so tall that Ursula and I saw nothing but the clouds and the sky and the black-white-and-red national flag fluttering from the pole three times the height of the tool shed.

The source of our patience to endure all this talk, apart from the chocolate and whipped cream, was both the memory and the anticipation of our path along the dike. For since we took the same route to and from, we experienced the same path both coming and going.

As it wound through the tall grass, hidden, we were certain, from our parents' eyes and awareness, we had no concept that it owed its very existence to the impact of thousands of other pairs of feet, probably other children's; we felt it was all our own. We never did see anyone else walk on it while we did; it never occurred to us that anyone had or would, ever.

So, we skipped along like puppies covering the distance twice or four times over, while our parents proceeded above us following a one-directional adult purpose: Father, in his dark blue pin-stripe with light grey homburg and light grey spats, setting down his heavy silver topped bamboo cane, all just a little too stately for his thirty-five years but not, come to recall it, for his circumference. Mother carrying her pale-colored hat and matching parasol as she carried all of her life, graciously and unself-consciously, a girl.

We looked neither at them nor below at the world of promenade and rope-jumpers and balloon peddlers and anglers and Pynch-and-Judy shows and, at the very horizon, Porzellan and pastures. For Ursula and for me, there was only that one path, private and pristine and for ever our own.

Andreas de Rhoda

Blossoms in the ink

"But wouldn't it be enough," said Nancy, "just to write a flower?"

Would it be enough? Would it be more than enough? Would it be a miracle?

I have forgotten the details of our conversation, but we had all been considering — earnestly, humbly, stoddily — the purposes of poetry. Wasn't it a poet's duty, for example, to speak usefully to the human condition? Why write at all, if your words didn't help someone in some way? Surely it was a writer's function to inform the reader, sharpen his sensibility, uplift him, advise him, or heal him. A poem, however lovely, should mean something useful to anyone who reads it — shouldn't it?

And yet there stood among us, like a pontifical presence, Archibald MacLeish's famous dictum: "A poem should not mean/But be."

Was this a selfish doctrine, or a self-defeating one? If a poem did not mean, it would be literally insignificant, as unimportant as rocks, or puns, or weeds in a vacant lot. Why write a work that meant no more than that? Think of the labor of editors, typesetters, proofreaders, printers, distributors; should their skill be wasted on words that did not signify? — on poems that were, for example, merely beautiful, or charming, or surprising, or (most irrelevant of all) whimsical?

"But wouldn't it be enough," said Nancy, "just to write a flower?"

I can't say how that gentle question affected the others; it lifted me like a wave. To write a flower! — to write a poem calyxed in words but petaled in color, a poem that simply stated itself and preached nothing, that existed only because it was needed for the completeness of the world!

Now here's a little conceit. Once upon a time a poet dreamed that she was trying to write a daisy, a rose, a buttercup, and a morning glory. Alas: the daisy turned into a didactic sonnet, the rose into a ballad, the buttercup into a warning limerick, and the morning glory into free verse. All this was only a nightmare, of course; and when our poet awoke she actually did write some flowers, as was her custom. This time her poetic hand inscribed a rather yokelish chrysanthemum (which she later revised into an exquisite dandelion) and a carefree bud which she opened out into a sky-blue peony.

Of course such writing may be taken as a mere metaphor; but I like to consider it literally as well. I admit that the flower-writing

concept is of no more practical use than a minnow or a baby; but does this disqualify it? Many good concepts are of no "practical" use: a choir of senators, say; or magical children; or stockbrokers, fluttering blithely on their own iridescent wings, dashing home for an evening of eager listening to their wives. Such figures of thought are considered of no pragmatic value; but don't they add a little color to the storms of thought?

I believe that everyone is served by every generous and lively concept; and I believe this because I see the universe as a single orchestration, an organic if limitless whole. All things have their mental music; all music has its line in the infinite score.

A man, climbing a classic peak, meets an edelweiss. Do climber and flower need each other? Does the mountain need them both? Do we, heirs and aspects of the universal, need them all? I think so.

What good thing could be surplus to infinity? I am now sure that every lovely thought is vital to my own personal infinity; and the writing of flowers is (for me, at any rate) a lovely thought. My own wholeness needs it — just as it needs the apparently unimportant things mentioned earlier: rocks, and puns, and weeds in a vacant lot.

I have been stating metaphysical propositions here; and what is the use of metaphysical propositions? Well, I think they are the heaven of history. Each new era rises through the slow seething of metaphysics. Metaphysical propositions, however diluted or ridiculed, are alive with the yeast of paradise.

One day, I hope, a particle of that yeast will enable me to write a flower. It is a huge ambition; but I believe in huge ambition for the arts. Because I consider them essentially mental, I put no limits on them. Miracles are their norm.

I speak of essences here. It is the essence of myself that hungers after the paradisaical heaven; it is the essence of a flower that I would like to write in the essence of poetry.

The essence of a flower is also the essence of a weed; and I'll be happy to find even the humblest new poetic impractical plant growing in the most desolate vacant lot. Weeds, too are miracles because, no less than phlox or roses, they have their own perfections, their vivid, immaculate lives.

A vacant lot, with a weed in it, is not vacant.

Neither is a vacant mood with a poem in it.

Nail Miller

For whom there is no other way

Of all men he shall most exult
Who stands at last on such a mount
Only the summoned may ascend:

Only the stripped of every weight,
So sinewed by each previous test
He may endure a passage that

None (of his own free will) would choose.
This ambushed route. This precipitous climb
To where there is yielded, yet again,

What all — all — to be called this way
Have, from the first of missions, known.
A mystified scene laid bare below:

Each ruse revealed, each stratagem now shown
As powerless to check on such a course
One who through every challenge set,

Through every direst charge on him,
Beholds — not powers of darkness — but
Blazed tidings of a cosmic plan.

Doris Peal

The Monitor's religious article

Genuine love

Many have treasured the joy of loving and being loved. But sometimes one may hesitate to love for fear of being misunderstood or even maligned. Perhaps one feels that a loving attitude might be considered a sign of weakness. Or, finding that to love at the wrong time or in the wrong way is not really love, one prefers to avoid the embarrassment of misjudging another's need. How, then, can one love in a way that will untiringly bless others?

Saint Paul was apparently aware that an essential element of genuine love is kindness — a keen sensitivity to the real needs of others and an ability to help meet those needs with a gentle benevolence, generosity, and consideration. He wrote, "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another."

Christian Science, in accord with the Bible, shows how to express warm, Godlike qualities, a deeply genuine unselfish love, a love that is quickly recognized as an indication of strength rather than weakness, one that is thoughtful, free from misjudgment. Such love stems from an understanding of the nature of God as Infinite, divine Spirit or Love, and of man as God's image, His perfect, spiritual reflection.

Through the realization that God is all-embracing Love, and that man is the very expression of Love, we begin to experience Love's ever-present, unerring guidance, and this in turn gives us keener sensitivity in disseminating the touch of Love in our contacts with others. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes in the Christian Science textbook, "Love inspires, illumines, designates, and leads the way."

The growing perception of men's unified relationship with infinite Love begins to purify the affections. We begin to see ourselves less as benevolent mortals and more as the individual expressions of Love itself. Christ Jesus stressed the importance of God-directed brotherly love. Not merely as a duty, but as the natural outcome of one's understanding of the Love that constitutes the nature of all real being. Jesus' great healing works evidenced the powerful fact that divine Love is an ever-present law operating in human experience to heal and to bless. And he showed that we, too, can develop a measure of his healing ability as we gain practical insight as to the nature of God as Love. Not as a beautiful theory, but as a living law that can be demonstrated.

We can demonstrate the law of Love as we learn to use spiritual insight and perceptive

man's wholly perfect nature as God's likeness. This is love in its highest sense. It is serenely undeterred by such errors as injustice, anger, hate, and is always ready to forgive.

Genuine love is not intellectual, cold, aloof. It is warm, vital, merciful, compassionate. It is shown in unheralded deeds of kindness. Its power is seen in the better attitudes of those around us, and in uplifted, transformed lives. The merest touch of unselfish love can be the answer to a seemingly insurmountable problem. Mrs. Eddy writes, "Love is consistent, uniform, sympathetic, self-sacrificing, unutterably kind."

*Romans 12:10; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 454; †Miscellaneous Writings, p. 312.

Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

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BIBLE VERSE

Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another; not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; loving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer.
Romans 12:10-12

Three two's equal —

seeing through too
seeing through to
through seeing two

Alex X. Fraser

OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Europe can save itself

The Carter administration is practicing an interesting and probably promising new approach to the problem of communism in Italy. Instead of threatening to cut Italy out of the realm of American affection (and aid) if it allows Communists in its government, Washington is watching with friendly concern but not telling them what they must or may not do.

In theory it was always intended to be like this. The Truman doctrine of 1947 called for giving American help to countries asking for it in a conscious and serious effort to save themselves from communism. But they were supposed to be responsible primarily for their own salvation. Washington was not supposed to tell them what to do or how to do it, merely help them in doing it their own way.

In 1947, Washington promptly departed from theory by sending the OSS, precursors of the CIA into Italy with bundles of money to support the anti-Communist cause. Washington did not trust the Italians to save themselves.

That was of course essentially what also happened in Vietnam. President Kennedy declared that in the last analysis the outcome in Vietnam would be up to the Vietnamese people. But he sent increasing American help and played an increasing role in the internal

affairs of Vietnam to the point where Washington manipulated a political coup d'état which, in fact, although not intentionally, involved the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem. During the presidency of Lyndon Johnson the United States was running the affairs of the Republic of Vietnam. Could the Vietnamese have saved themselves? Some think it might have happened, if the Americans had kept hands off. It was never tried.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has enunciated a theory about Italy and communism which reflects the thinking of a lot of people who have studied the past and tried to learn the lessons it teaches. Unlike his predecessor (Henry Kissinger) Mr. Vance is not warning the Italians of a withdrawal of American friendship and support if they admit Communists to their government. There is no American threat, or ultimatum, or promise to the Italians. The most he will say is that if Communists enter the Italian Government there would be a problem for NATO. But he declined even to speculate on how many Communists in the Italian Government, or in what posts, would constitute a problem. To do so, he has said, would be to interfere in the internal affairs of Italy.

Let it be added that so far as we on this

newspaper know the CIA is keeping out of the current Italian political situation and is not any longer making life more comfortable for people eager to be anti-Communist for pay.

We cannot know how the Italians will manage their internal Communist problem by themselves. None of us can know for certain whether Communists in the Italian Government would produce a problem for NATO, or, as some have suggested, an even greater problem for Moscow. Eurocommunism in high office in Western Europe has not yet happened. No one can know whether it would fragment the Communist world still further, and thus weaken Moscow.

It is a fact that the communist world is already fragmented by the overt anti-Soviet policies and attitudes of communist China and of communist Albania and by the independent line of communist Yugoslavia. It is possible that Communists in the Italian Government would weaken Moscow's ability to influence events in the outside world rather than increase Soviet influence in Western Europe. Only an actual test could determine what would in fact happen. But Communists inside the Italian Government would not necessarily be a Western disaster.

It is also a fact that there is by now an im-

pressive record of European, and other, countries saving themselves on a do-it-yourself basis.

Portugal has regained political stability after a crisis period which the Communists tried but failed to exploit. And Portugal did this on its own without any American help. In this case Washington kept out largely because it tended to take the view that all was lost. Fortunately for the morale of the Western world there was instead an example of a country saving itself.

Spain is a case where many feared that once the chains of the Franco system were unlocked the country would lurch all the way over to communism. It has not done so. Thanks to a very wise young King, Spain has moved carefully, step by step, from an authoritarian dictatorship of the right toward a democracy of the center. The chances for moderate democracy in Spain seem to be excellent. There is also an incidental argument for restoration of monarchy — providing a wise king is available.

The moral of the matter is that some countries can save themselves if Washington will give them a chance to do it. Does the same apply to dissidents inside the Soviet Union? Their immediate lot is actually worse since Mr. Carter began preaching human rights at Moscow.

Perpetual motion, 1927-1977

Melvin Maddocks

"To move" is the great verb of American-English. In fact, to be an American is to be in a state of mobility — no matter what the price.

In Boston a young man under 25 fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to have a new Corvette on his hands will find the price can add up to \$3,745 a year in insurance just to put his precious mobility-joy on the road. And we're not even mentioning dirty words like "repairs," "garage rent," "excise tax," and "gasoline."

Never mind, the future of the automobile may be in doubt. The airlines are wobbly. The railroads, as usual, are making tracks to nowhere. But nothing will keep the American grounded — a word he fears above all others. Still, the subject of mobility '77 is enough to make a young man under 25 with a sense of history wish he were at the wheel of a Stutz Bearcat now and then.

Return with us (a little memory-lane traveling music, please) to 1927, 50 years ago, when Baba Ruth was hitting his record 80 home runs and Al Capone was grossing an estimated \$165 million. Alvin "Shipwreck" Kally made a little American-mobility news by climbing a flagpole in Baltimore and parading there for 23 days and seven hours. But of course the big American-mobility news of 1927 was Charles Lindbergh's flight in the "Spirit of St. Louis."

What a combination of innocence and sophistication that plane ride represented! It was as if the decade had to express its restlessness literally, in pure movement. The U.S. Ambassador to France, Myron T. Herrick, had

scarcely finished greeting Lindbergh in Paris when he rushed to Le Havre to board the De de France for her maiden voyage to New York. The fun: five days, eight hours. Speedy stuff for those days, and how Herrick and his fellow passengers reveled in it, to say nothing of the admiring reception committee that fired off an enthusiastic 10-gun salute.

In 1927 everybody who moved in style, from Lindbergh to the latest Channel swimmer, was saluted by another appropriate form of mobility: the parade. Frederick Lewis Allen observed in "Only Yesterday": "Crocus Whalen, the well-dressed police commissioner, was taking incessant advantage of what Alva Johnston called the great discovery that anybody riding up Broadway at noon with a motorcycle escort would find thousands of people gathered there in honor."

Fifty years later we forget how Lindbergh's flight liberated everybody — gave people wings not only in the air but on land and sea. Headlines of the New York Times a month after Lindbergh's solo read: "Airline to Chicago Due in Four Months." The Navy awarded Good-year a contract for a new dirigible that would carry five places. An enterprising called the Dollar Steamship Line advertised: "Round the world for \$11.37 per day."

If the young and presumably penniless owner of a 1977 Corvette should peruse the ads in a June, 1927, New York Times, he would find Pontiacs selling for around \$700 and a Chevy coupe for \$525. The great day was a coming of a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage. And the Model A was on its way.

How the Industrial Revolution turned those it blessed into perpetually moving parts! How diabolically it connected the notion of mobility to the notion of progress! Upward mobility, sideways mobility, even downward mobility if there is no other mobility. Damnation is standing still.

"Out of the cradle endlessly rocking," sang Walt Whitman. "How you gonna keep 'em down on the farm after they've seen Paroo?" sang the soldiers of World War I.

Was 1927, with Lindbergh and all his fellow pilgrims, the climax of American mobility? Every freedom has its own corresponding slavery. Since 1927 the freedom of mobility has become a kind of compulsion. "Strange sport!" Baudelaire wrote not 50 but 100 years ago, "where destination has no place or name and may be anywhere we choose — where man, committed to his endless race, runs like a madman diving for reposit!"

In other words, our mobility threatens to become our ultimate stagnation. And if fuel shortages and high insurance rates will keep us from this — from turning into professional nomads — should we be altogether sorry? Who knows? The fuel we save might heat our — what's that word again? — homes.

Sermons in Africa

Charles W. Yost

Our Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, made two remarkable speeches in Africa last month which have not been fully reported. One was to the UN Conference for Namibia and Zimbabwe (South-West Africa and Rhodesia) held in Mozambique and attended mostly by Africans. The other was in Johannesburg and was attended mostly by white South African businessmen.

To the latter group Young said: "I come tonight, I think, neither as an ambassador nor as a politician, but essentially as a preacher." That remark accurately characterizes both speeches. To each of these two vastly different audiences, each passionately committed to seemingly incompatible causes, he spoke in terms, not of conflict, but of accommodation, reconciliation and hope. Moreover, as a politician rather than a preacher, he argued that accommodation is more in the interest of each than is confrontation.

To his audience in Mozambique, an audience committed to bringing about the liberation of Rhodesia and Namibia by whatever means are necessary, he said: "I would remind you respectfully that the history of freedom in Africa has not been just a history of victory through armed struggle. The majority of the nations of Africa achieved independence through nego-

tiated settlement, and where there was negotiated settlement those countries moved much more rapidly in their development."

He pointed out that in the United States civil-rights struggle "we were able to maintain a movement which was essentially dedicated to the Gandhian principles of securing change" through economic and political forces "which triumphed in an amazingly short time."

Young noted that in Rhodesia, where the blacks make up 85 percent of the population, they could, if they exerted their full economic power through a boycott of white merchants, "bring an impact on the Smith regime equal to that of armed struggle."

To the white businessmen in Johannesburg, he said: "I get tired of hearing South Africans come to me saying, 'We're prepared to fight to the death,' because 'I'm not interested in anybody dying. I'm interested in finding a way for South Africans to live together as brothers and live with the rest of the world as brothers.'"

He went on to deliver a ringing encomium of the free market system, to point out that it is in the enlightened self-interest of those leading the system in South Africa both to bring the millions of potential black consumers into the market, and to respect the moral imperatives on racial equality accepted in the international

society in which they must exist.

The world-wide sermons of Andrew Young constitute one facet of the Carter administration's campaign to promote political change in southern Africa, and thereby to forestall the violent changes which it rightly sees as the probable alternative. Vice-President Mondale's "struggle session" with South African Prime Minister Vorster is another facet of this strategy.

One of its primary targets is American public opinion, which has complacently ignored both the moral imperatives and the rising storm in southern Africa. Unless that public can be shown a vital United States interest in peaceful change, no governmental strategy to this end can be sustained or can succeed.

In this connection it is only just to recall those Americans who have long been preparing the ground for Carter and Young. Fifteen years ago, Adlai Stevenson at the UN and Menen Williams in Washington were urging a much more positive American policy toward southern Africa — including "active" discouragement of U.S. investment there. Nobody listened. For the past year and a half the able Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Bill Schoffeleers, has been working quietly and indefatigably for the same end.

However, the effort to make the revolution in southern Africa peaceful rather than violent still faces enormous obstacles.

Parallels between the situation there and the American civil-rights struggle apply only partially. In the latter the blacks constituted a relatively small proportion of the population. Granting equal rights to them did not threaten the supremacy or the rights of the white majority.

In southern Africa the blacks make up all but a tiny minority of the population of Rhodesia and Namibia, about 80 percent of that of South Africa. Acceptance of the principle of "one man, one vote" there would mean, eventually if not at once, the transfer of paramount power to the blacks.

Can the whites ever be convinced, short of force, that the blacks would exercise that power in such a way as to permit the whites to remain, to be protected and to prosper in their African homes?

If the question of justice for the blacks is to be successfully and peacefully answered, as it must be, the question of security for the whites, at least in South Africa, where they are so numerous and so determined, must be met more seriously and thoroughly than it has been.

COMMENTARY

One view on why Podgorny was ousted

By Boris Rabbot

Nikolai Podgorny's ouster from the Politburo is both a serious indicator of the Soviet internal political atmosphere and another subtle step in the zig-zag course of recent Soviet-American relations.

Podgorny's personal relationship to Brezhnev dates back to the 1940s when they worked together at high-level party jobs in the Ukraine, an association that continued up to the '60s in their effort to overthrow Khrushchev. At that point Podgorny still remained a strong personal supporter of Brezhnev. They had taken power together and only by staying together could they retain control against other political coalitions.

Yet by the late '60s their personal relationship worsened as Brezhnev began to take power more and more firmly into his own hands, and simultaneously their ideological paths began to radically differ. In Soviet terms Podgorny was becoming increasingly conservative, and Brezhnev increasingly liberal. By 1972 Podgorny's personal criticism of Brezhnev and in particular of his policy of détente with the United States and Western Europe had become extremely severe.

One problem affecting the détente issue arose in connection with the Soviet effort in organizing Cuban participation in the events in Angola. Here Podgorny played a major role. Each Politburo member is in charge of policy and relationships with one particular part of the globe, and Podgorny's assigned sphere was Africa. He bore direct responsibility for the 1975 negotiations on Angola with Cuba. Brezhnev preferred to send Cubans rather than Soviets to do his dirty work for him in Angola, as he fully understood the consequences for détente of direct Soviet military participation in Africa. Podgorny was thus instructed to negotiate with the Cubans.

This same problem of Soviet third-world intervention in Africa presumably occurred in April and ultimately led to Podgorny's downfall. On his March trip to Africa he was preparing a new base for Soviet participation in the struggle, helping black popular movements in countries such as Rhodesia and South Africa take over power from white governments. But it was no longer possible to try to send in the Cubans for this purpose. For one thing, President Carter had been actively bawling relations with Cuba, eliminating travel restrictions, sending delegations, etc. For Castro, sending Cuban troops to Africa to help the Russians now have entailed too great damage to rapidly improving Cuban-American relations. Podgorny therefore wished to send Soviet military specialists to Africa, a policy Brezhnev had continually opposed.

While Moscow wanted to help African blacks in their struggle for independence, sending Soviet volunteers now would have made the price for Brezhnev in terms of Soviet-American relations exorbitantly high. Carter's human rights policy of the last few months had been supporting peaceful, not military transfer of power to the African popular movements; American ideals of equality and human rights would appear more to African leaders than the totalitarian threat they could see lurking behind Soviet offers of military assistance; civil rights for blacks was excellent American propaganda; Andrew Young as a black ambassador had an extremely effective advantage in direct negotiations with African leaders.

Through the American press saw in the new Soviet Constitution a reason for removing Podgorny, this seems unlikely. The Constitution had been worked out with Podgorny's direct participation, and does not contain any radi-

cally new elements. In addition to personal and policy differences with Brezhnev, Podgorny lacked a power base to keep his job. While the post of President involves somewhat more than the figurehead status Western observers sometimes assign to it, since the President must prepare reports and suggestions for the Politburo on all the foreign delegations and guests he has to meet, the job lacks a definite politically backed power base. Podgorny had his own staff, but no serious policy experts wanted to work with him given his known reactionary views. The President has no control over the military sector. Nor did Podgorny have KGB backing, since Yuri Andropov, the KGB head, is closely and personally allied to Brezhnev. While there are still other people in the Politburo who share Podgorny's reactionary, or one might even say Stalinist, positions, they do not yet have sufficient backing to either save him or publicly make their position felt.

Podgorny's ouster thus gives grounds for the conclusion that Brezhnev's personal position is getting even stronger, that his détente policy holds away despite pressures against it, and that while Soviet military advisers may help the popular movement in Africa, a general decrease in Soviet activity there is rather likely, at least up to the time of the October SALT II meetings.

The Carter administration was aware of Podgorny's trip to Africa and of his mission there. His ouster was one more of Brezhnev's indications of seriousness regarding détente, shown by a refusal to engage in direct Soviet military intervention in Africa and opening the way for peaceful negotiations there.

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Mr. Rabbot, formerly an official of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and an adviser to Party Central Committee member Alexei M. Rumyantsev, emigrated from the Soviet Union last year.

Long live the moose!

By John Gould

In Maine parlance, the open and closed season on fish and game depends on whether the "law is on." When the law is on, you mustn't shoot. But everybody turns out the morning the "law goes off," and traditionally that is the state's big day for absenteeism from work and school. Which is to preface a curious superstition about taking the law off moose, and permitting them once again to be shot *pour le sport*. There was considerable toise last spring when publicity focused on the Newfoundland seal hunt; a similar hullabaloo could well be raised over the Maine moose and his constant hovering on the brink. Every session of the Maine Legislature seems to turn up a misguided moose-hunter who can be prevailed upon to drop a bill in the hopper, to repeal the law that has been on moose since the 1920s. The latest effort is a kind of raffle, so persons wishing to obfuscate a moose will be drawn by lot, making the outing almost as good as the instant sweepstakes.

It was fairly late in the game that Maine

woke up to the plight of the moose. He is the dominant figure on the Great Seal, supported by a farmer and fisherman, so he does have status. But he was being depicted alarmingly by the "meatman." Every logging camp employed a professional hunter whose total job was to keep fresh meat hanging handy to feed the choppers. Deer are not truly deep-forest animals, and while some were taken for camp use, the heaviest drain was on the moose. Walking at last, the legislature finally clamped down, and it has since been illegal to serve any "game" in that manner in a lumber or sporting camp. But as the meatmen were outlawed, the sportsman look over, and along in the 1920s the Maine moose herd was down to a minimum of a few dozen pairs — so few that extinction was at hand. Again, the legislature woke up, and there has been no open season on moose since.

The moose rallied at this, and have built themselves up to a substantial number again — so much so that it can be rationalized that a limited open season will prove no threat.

But that's not the point. What should bother people is the composition of the Maine moose. He hasn't heard a gunshot in fifty years, and he doesn't care if school keeps or not. He wanders around in complete nobility, indifferent to man and his world. A few instances:

A cow moose with calf crossed a pulpwood cutting where eighteen men were operating chainsaws.

At Scott Brook lumber camp, on the 14th of July, 1976, the dinner hour was interrupted while the crew crowded outside to watch a bull moose pass the gasoline tank, the cockshock, the cockshack, the shower camp, and disappear behind the roaring electricity generator.

When Bill Dornbusch and I spotted a bull amongst the dribs at The Siss, we put the glasses on him and kept him in sight while he moved a mile toward us and walked through our camp dooryard. Warner Nutter, a scalar who lives at that camp, thought we were unusually excited. "He comes and goes all the time," he said.

On Soper Brook, I fly-fished a pool where a cow was standing to her withers in the water. She continued to chomp lilies, turning to look at me now and then, paid no further attention. I dropped a fly near her, took a two-pound trout, and she never turned a hair at the splash. She was still there when I left, breakfast in my creel.

At Twenty Mile, on the Pittston road, a bull, two cows, and a yearling stood waiting for us to round a corner, and as I brought my pickup to a stop they turned to stand in a row facing us. It was as if the bull had said, "Oh, here are some tourists to take our picture!" Giving us time to snap fifty pictures, or even to paint them in oils, they lumbered away leisurely, completely indifferent.

Shooting a Maine moose, if the law goes off, ought to prove fully as inspiring as potting somebody's pet pussy cat sleeping in the sun on a stoop. Anybody for a protest?

Readers write

George Willis used specially designed mechanical aids (as do all mountain climbers) in his climb of the World Trade Center building. Thus, you have incorrectly characterized this feat as "the triumph of man over technology" (June 6, International Edition). Rather, this was a man's intelligent and courageous use of technology for a great human achievement which would not have been possible without technology.

Similarly, Charles Lindbergh used a machine for his historic flight in 1927 which, with obvious, created by their intelligent application of technical principles — by technology.

R. N. Clark
Professor of Automatic Systems
University of Washington
Seattle

May I comment on the article "The moose must solve Britain's unemployment problem" in the May 23rd issue of The Christian Science Monitor? Firstly, in order to get so numerous and so determined, job opportunities should also be created. Secondly, the Employment Protection Act is designed to protect the rights of employees. So it undoubtedly does, but abuse of the system in respect of unfair dismissal is such that employers, particularly in small businesses, are now inevitably reluctant to engage employees on a permanent basis, thus increasing unemployment rather than reducing it.

Surly what is needed in industrial relations is justice for all concerned, not just the employee, but also the employer and, equally important, the public at large.

G. B. A. Williams
Surrey, England

British sovereigns

In The Christian Science Monitor dated May 30, 1977 is a list of British Sovereigns. From William I to Elizabeth they are English Sovereigns. Scotland had her own line of kings from Duncan to James VI, who succeeded Elizabeth in 1603 when the English line died out. He was the first British Sovereign. You will find his title on the first page of the Bible named after him; and it is from him that the present Monarchy is descended.

In a recent speech Her Majesty said she could not forget that she had been crowned Queen of the United Kingdom. Well somebody forgot in 1603 and has kept on forgetting ever since James VI of Scotland became James I of England, and then there were William II and IV, Edwards VII and VIII and Elizabeth II.

All instances of something never mentioned until recently — English Nationalism. I remember one of my teachers saying that England tried the same tricks with Scotland as she did with Ireland but Scotland reacted differently. Glasgow

Energy waste

What a relief to have the President of the United States of America admit to the awful waste of energy in his country and, determining to carry his country with him to eliminate this waste. Future generations will not think well of the U.S.A. if he fails. The U.S.A. is squandering the world's resources of oil and other irreplaceable materials.

Singapore has, I believe, solved the problem

of large wasteful car engines by introducing a graduated system of car tax something like this:

Engine capacity	up to 1000cc	2c/cc
"	1000-1500	4c/cc
"	1500-2000	6c/cc
"	2000-2500	8c/cc
"	2500-3000	10c/cc
"	above 3000	15c/cc

Since energy is an essential ingredient of almost all manufacturing processes, should not built-in obsolescence be phased out as an immoral use of natural resources? At the same time recycling should be developed to reduce both pollution and energy waste.

As President Carter says, time is running out — fast. Marlborough, England. Arthur Harrell

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norwood Street, Boston, MA 02115.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, June 27, 1981

Détente and human rights

There is more to be concerned about at the Belgrade conference than the issue of human rights. So much attention is focused on human rights, in fact, that the term itself may lose its impact, if it has not done so already. To remain meaningful, it has to be understood in a broader context of East-West relations and the objectives of détente.

It is worth reviewing these anew.

The heart of the question is: how does the West help bring about an evolution of the Soviet Union toward a more liberal, more open, perhaps, eventually, a democratic society?

To begin with, it is self-evident the West is not going to foment revolution inside the U.S.S.R. Not only would this be morally unacceptable and dangerous interference in the internal affairs of another state. It would most likely result in the advent to power of a group of men no more freedom-loving or liberal than their predecessors. The Soviet Union springs out of centuries of authoritarianism. This does not mean a more democratic system could not suddenly emerge; but it does say there is little cultural or historical base for such an abrupt change of political style. Indeed the vast majority of its citizens accept Marxism-Leninism as the best of all systems and have no desire for change — a fact too often forgotten.

What, then, is the alternative? Over several decades Western leaders have come to the view that the best way to deal with the Soviet Union is not to perpetuate a "cold war" that keeps tensions at boiling point. But to encourage rational behavior by the U.S.S.R. on the world scene. The means to this end is seen to lie through trade, exchange of peoples and information, and agreements that place limits on armaments. Such a policy does not eliminate political rivalry or Soviet aggressiveness but it can temper it. Once the Russians become used to economic cooperation with the West, they will have a vested interest in good relations and stability.

Moreover, the expansion of across-the-border contacts, even if official ones, should have a salutary effect. The more that Russians travel, for instance, the more contacts they have with foreigners at home and abroad, the more their own perspective is likely to change. True, those Soviet citizens permitted to go abroad are "safe" communists not likely to step out of line. And contacts between Western scientists, scholars, businessmen and Russians in the U.S.S.R. are circumscribed. But the two-way exchange nonetheless exposes Soviet citizens to new ideas and approaches.

With time, the hope is, Soviet society will change. Today the most that a typical middle-class Russian aspires to is a comfortable

apartment of his own, a few consumer amenities, and perhaps a car. And tomorrow, once basic consumer demands are met? Will it be to travel freely abroad perhaps? To read more foreign books? To see controversial plays? It is not unreasonable to foresee a build-up of pressures on the regime in the direction of greater latitude. Yes, even for greater "human rights," including such a modest one as the right to emigrate.

Moscow's political dissidents of course seek more. These more enlightened individuals know that so-called Soviet democracy is a mockery. They battle for the right of dissent, for fair trials, for the right to assemble, demonstrate, worship — many of the rights eschewed in the Soviet Constitution. They are, moreover, willing to endure prison for their convictions. But they are a minority voice, and a small one at that. They have no political power and, while their views receive sympathy among some Soviet intellectuals, the broad intelligentsia does not support them. And, if the intelligentsia will not join or go out on a limb for them, it can be asked, how far can outside nations go in promoting their cause?

That the West insists on giving Soviet dissidents moral support is justified. It must keep alive the hope for enlightenment and freedom which these courageous civil-rights advocates represent. But only the Soviet people themselves can demand and win human rights in the full sense of the term. The governments of the West must carefully weigh how much they can do, and how much is better left to private organizations. If the Kremlin feels challenged by too militant a campaign for human rights and hardens its treatment of dissidents, what purpose has been served? If the campaign damages Soviet relations with the West and impairs détente, how will the objectives of opening up Soviet society then be fostered?

To strike a proper balance is not easy. But, in any case, those aspects of the Helsinki Final Act which deal with the rights of states (as against the rights of individuals) and with economic and scientific cooperation ought not to be neglected.

It would in fact be well to get détente back on the rails again. Not as a "concession" to the Soviet Union, which it is not. Not as a stance that rules out tough bargaining with Kremlin leaders when it comes in arms control, trade deals, and, most certainly, humanitarian rights. But as a policy which, taken in its entirety, seems the best means of keeping the world at peace, inducing the Soviet Union and its East European allies to follow internationally accepted norms of civilized behavior, and permitting their communist societies to evolve into something better.

Defensible borders



Begin's home-front challenge

Israel's new Prime Minister Begin now faces formidable challenges inside the country, as well as externally in relations with the United States and Israel's Arab foes. Domestic issues, such as corruption and inflation under the previous Labor Party regime of Yitzhak Rabin, helped bring Mr. Begin to power, so he cannot for long ignore these problems. And in order to govern, he has had to form a coalition with two religious parties, the National Religious Party and Agudat Israel, which means the new Prime Minister, to an extent, will have to heed their demands to remain in power.

As opposition leader Shimon Peres of the Labor Party already has pointed out, Mr. Begin's concessions to the orthodox religious groups in Israel could well lead to friction with more liberal-minded Jews abroad, including those in the United States. Yet in forming his Cabinet, Mr. Begin has recognized his coalition obliga-

tions by giving the posts of Education, Religious Affairs, and Interior and Police to representatives of various religious factions.

Another appointment, that of controversial former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan as Foreign Minister, meanwhile, is regarded as a hopeful sign. Mr. Dayan, although criticized for being ambitious and unpredictable in politics, could well turn out to be more flexible and less dogmatic on the great issues confronting Israel than Mr. Begin himself — and therefore potentially helpful in negotiations on the West Bank, where the Prime Minister has had a hard-line position. Moreover, Mr. Dayan's name is well known in the United States. And, as a defector from the rival Labor Party, he is an important symbol.

Much will depend on how well or poorly the new leader is able to handle the powerful Histadrut trade union federation. If he can gain Histadrut's cooperation, Mr. Begin's chances for improving the domestic economic situation will improve, for the federation owns or controls roughly one-third of the economy. But the possibility of conflict between the Prime Minister and the trade unions cannot be ruled out, especially since Mr. Begin is known to be more of a free enterpriser than a trade union supporter.

Significantly, the Prime Minister has left vacant the three Cabinet positions of Justice, Social Welfare, and Communications in the hope that the new centrist party, the Democratic Movement for Change, led by Yigal Yadin, will change its mind and decide to join the Likud-led coalition. This is a considerable inducement, of course, and if Mr. Yadin decides to accept, that would broaden the coalition's present narrow base. But the new party so far has declined the offer, and the likelihood is that its decision not to serve with the present government is a firm one.

Clearly, the new man at Israel's head has plenty of political and economic problems to grapple with at home. And they are problems too urgent to overlook for long. Despite the pressure of outside events, such as relations with the United States and the Arab peace settlement, he will need to find the time and support he can muster to deal with the challenges.

South Africa's uneasy calm

A measure of genuine relief certainly can be felt in South Africa by whites and blacks alike that the June 16 anniversary of last year's destructive rioting in Soweto and other black townships passed with relatively few casualties this year. But this is scarcely the end of the story. And the toll of 13 fatalities this time seems modest only by comparison with the much larger number of killings during the unprecedented 1976 outbreak.

It would be a serious mistake to conclude that racial turmoil is on the decline in South Africa, even though the white police this time were better prepared, better equipped, and more restrained, even though the pro-apartheid Vorster government presumably is much more aware of, and concerned about, the urgency of improving the black-white racial relationship. For a fair assessment requires that a number of less encouraging factors also be taken into consideration.

The other side of the picture is that this month already has seen a hint that militant

blacks trained in neighboring countries may be turning to a campaign of urban guerrilla violence inside South Africa, a step that could only be regarded as an ominous development for the whites.

Also a matter for deep concern is the fact that militant younger blacks, including the type of students who sparked the original 1976 disorders, appear to have gained the upper hand in some of the black communities. Disquieting evidence of their power is the way members of Soweto's Urban Bantustan Council, a group of moderate black elders working with white officials on housing and jobs, were forced to resign.

The problem is that younger black leaders now seem convinced that force and civil disturbance are the only means of obtaining equality with the whites. Despite their relative quiet on the anniversary, they are more receptive to activism than peaceful negotiation, which is not an encouraging development.

One reason for this is that the past 10 months have not brought the blacks much in the form of specific improvement of their rights or living conditions. Education Minister

Koornhof, a member of the Vorster Cabinet, in an unexpected comment last month unveiled what was described as a blueprint for a future political system under which blacks living in white areas might get direct representation in a central governing body. But those who hoped this might mark the onset of a fundamental change in the white National Party's racial stance were in for a disappointment. Prime Minister Vorster later knocked down the Koornhof proposals as impractical. And another Cabinet member, conservative Andries Treurnicht, added that the National Party would never agree to power-sharing plans as a compromise between black and white rule.

This continued hold-the-line-against-change attitude on the part of the Vorster government is not going to satisfy the growing black aspirations. The deep restiveness in the black community continues, and the prospect, unfortunately, is that it may erupt once more into violence. This is what makes it all the more essential that moderates in the government and outside the black community and in the white work even harder to justify fundamental changes and to bring them about, above all, by peaceful means.

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